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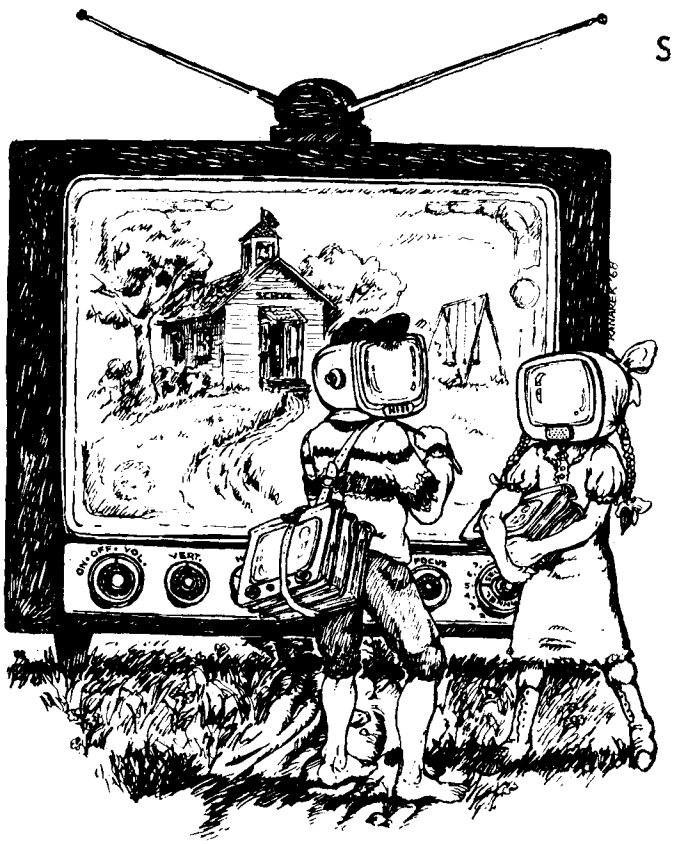

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TELE-CULTURE AND THE THIRD WORLD

Neil P. Hurley

BLACK POWER ON BLACK CAMPUSES

David Steinberg

MARTIN LUTHER KING

An Editorial

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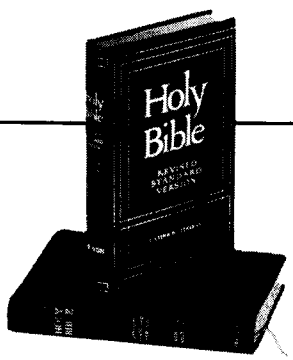

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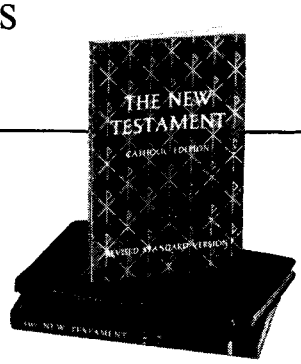

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NEWS AND VIEWS

The hot summer of 1968 arrived on the eighth day of spring, and in manner to make a prophet out of that unlikely sage, Adam Clayton Powell.

"The day of Martin Luther King has come to an end," Mr. Powell exclaimed during his triumphal return to Harlem. And a few days later, March 28, Memphis exploded, as Dr. King led the protest march which sought to shake from unreconstructed city fathers recognition of a union and a paltry 7¢ more per hour to settle Memphis' sanitation workers' strike.

"The era of reasonable, meaningful non-violence is *not* over," Dr. King had asserted a few days earlier, partially to put to rest uneasiness that surrounded the Poor People's Campaign he was to take to Washington on April 22. But the March 28 violence in Memphis provided the first clue: non-violence has lost much of its grip on the black civil rights movement. And with the murder of Dr. King, there is screaming evidence that black non-violence is about as dead as Powell implied. No need to reason why.

If non-violence disappears entirely among blacks, it will be because white intransigence has once again left them without alternatives in the rights struggle. Take Memphis. The issues were minor ones, but the inflexibility of white city officials twisted the tensions in racial directions. A week before the March 28 violence, the Southern Regional Council warned that the handling of the sanitation strike was triggering the release of built-up resentment in the Negro community. City fathers remained unheeding and the March 28 violence became something of an inevitability.

Then followed the white violence that was the murder of Martin Luther King.

It is possible that that violence, like the March 28 violence, has complex roots in causes beyond immediate issues. The difference is that the roots of white racial resentment are in the negativisms of the American system and possess none—*none*—of the qualities that redeem and justify black resentment.

And what a memorable year this has been for the hypocrisy on which to fester the racial resentment of the crackpot white.

1968, be it remembered, is a year that bowed in with Congress sitting silent to that section of the State of the Union message which proposed new rights legislation, but applauding mightily the pledge to curb "rising crime and lawlessness" in the streets; a year which has seen both President and Vice President virtually disown the report of the presidential Commission on Civil Disorders; a year in which cities stockpiled riot equipment, while Congress pared more funds from poverty programs (45 anti-poverty projects in New York City alone had their funds cut off on March 31); a year in which the Congress got so hung up on rights legislation that, in an attempt to snap it into action, the President lapsed into Texas vernacular: "quit fiddling and piddling."

More than enough to fire up the white crackpot.

A pity of Dr. King's murder is that for a few days before his gunning down it was possible to speculate that Mr. Johnson's decision to seek peace and leave the Presidency would ease ghetto pressures by infusing in ghetto dwellers the hope that a new President would bring new priorities to the solving of their problems. That talk was quickly dead; maybe it was never even realistic; maybe the mood of the nation should have discouraged it from the very beginning.

Mr. Johnson himself typified that mood the day after the March 28 disturbances when he reaffirmed determination to meet "mindless violence" with what amounts to the organized violence of tanks and troops, police and pistols, gas, clubs and police dogs.

More to fire up the crackpot.

Fierce breast-beatings have followed the murder of Martin Luther King, but they have a faintly fraudulent thump. And they do not alter the essential fact that it was more than one man who murdered Dr. King in Memphis. It was a nation of hypocrites and white racists.

•

If it weren't for publishing costs, you'd be inclined to rate Barry H. Downing's *The Bible and Flying Saucers* as the big put-on of 1968. Except, of course, publishers like Lippincott don't play expensive put-on games. So Downing's book is to be taken seriously—except that that is impossible. *The Bible and Flying Saucers* is biblical science-fiction at its weirdest. Samples:

—"At the Transfiguration Jesus was making plans concerning the Crucifixion-Resurrection event with persons from another world (Moses and Elijah) who seemed to have arrived by means of a 'bright cloud' type of UFO."

—"I very much suspect that the Ascension cloud was the same UFO which led the Israelites through the Red Sea, gave Moses the commandments, carried Elijah to heaven, 'descended' like a dove at the baptism of Jesus, perhaps carrying him bodily into the wilderness, as he was carried away bodily at the Ascension."

—"How was Paul converted? . . . It seems consistent to argue that if Jesus 'ascended' in some sort of UFO, the same vehicle brought him to Paul's company on the Damascus Road."

—"If the prophecies concerning the second coming are to be interpreted in a way which is consistent with the Ascension passage, it is permissible to say that Jesus will return . . . in a flying-saucer-like UFO, his space cloud."

Lippincott, perhaps to indicate that it is not devoid of sense *or* humor, released the book on April 1.

•

Milwaukee folks anxious to escape Father Groppi and street marches can join Father Charles Verhalen on a "Catholic Hawaiian Holiday." A full-page ad in the diocesan newspaper, the *Catholic Herald Citizen,* cries, "Hawaii awaits you . . . Let Father Verhalen show you the magic of Hawaiian living." Among the enticements: an "exciting Polynesian Floor Show"—featuring, no doubt, Catholic performers.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Pie-a-la-Callahan

Cambridge, Mass.

To the Editors: Daniel Callahan's analysis and evaluation of the Davis-Küng-Ruether approach to ecclesiology ("Pie-in-the-Sky Theology?" Mar. 29) was magnificent. He touched upon several points that highlight the malaise in the present attempt at ecclesial understanding, viz. determining the nature of the Church and deciding who really speaks for it . . .

A great debt of gratitude is no doubt owed to Davis, Küng and Ruether for presenting their views of the Church. But the struggle for discovery goes on. Hopefully, we can soon achieve the fuller understanding of the "community in service" about which Christ so strongly hints in the Gospels so that the contemporary Christian can give a more directive force to his desire to help others . . .

I suggest that Daniel Callahan write a treatise on the Church. I'm sure his aspect will be of the surprising variety.

(REV.) GILBERT ROMERO

Buffalo, N.Y.

To the Editors: In "Pie-in-the-Sky Theology?" Daniel Callahan invokes from Peter Berger's *The Sacred Canopy* a version of Popper's principle of "reinforced dogmatism," a self-sealing device against any possible attempt at refutation: the theory predicts it and explains it away. As Berger puts it: "the less firm the plausibility structure becomes, the more acute will be the need for world-maintaining legitimations." In an interesting and very thought-provoking tour de force, Callahan exposes the uncriticized absolute hidden in Lawler's, Küng's and Ruether's presentations. What Callahan seems not to realize is that he is vulnerable too. His strategy:

(1) Deny that the others have isolated the true nature of the Church;

(2) Attack their effort to locate the reality of the Church in one or other last-ditch absolute legitimation;

(Continued on page 157)

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DR. KING'S LEGACY

There have long been two telling arguments against an ethic of non-violence. The first is that it cannot work, since it seems to suppose an angelic conception of man's dignity rarely encountered in reality. Even in the case of Gandhi, many have said, the success of his non-violence was only made possible by England's lukewarm desire to hold on to India, and by the coincidence that the English were enough a part of the moral tradition he evoked to make them susceptible to his tactics. In short, non-violence will not work and, if it does, that is just an ad hoc historical accident which cannot be repeated. The death of Martin Luther King, one could say, simply proved the irrelevance of non-violence: the fate of the non-violent is a violent death at the hands of those who live in the real and not hoped-for human world. Reality caught up with Dr. King just as it did with Gandhi.

The second telling argument is that the concept of non-violence can easily become just another instrument of subjugation. Faced with rising, utterly just Negro demands, stridently pushed, expensive to meet, unnerving to confront, what is more natural than for whites to embrace Dr. King's non-violence? The nice thing about it, from a nervous white viewpoint, is that it doesn't endanger property, doesn't promote costly rioting, doesn't allow blacks to get out of hand. It also means that whites can meet Negro demands at their leisure, being reasonably sure that nothing too drastic will happen in the meantime. Many blacks of course saw this kind of effect in Dr. King's non-violence. They felt it played only too nicely into white hands—and they rejected it, casting about instead for an ethic with more bite to it, one which would allow whites less chance to put off what had to be done, less chance to go about business as usual. And violence does have bite.

What has Martin Luther King's death proved? Does it just add one more bit of data against the value of non-violence? Was it really "ironical," as many commentators put it, that the champion of non-violence should die a

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violent death? Not at all, if one has already decided that non-violence is hopelessly unrealistic anyway. A goodly number of those white mayors and governors who praised Dr. King's non-violent philosophy felt little compunction about dispatching troops to the ghettos to quell rioting. That was only to say, in so many words, that while non-violence is a splendid philosophy for blacks to cope with whites, some old-fashioned violence is still the best way for whites to cope with blacks. When any number of white civic spokesmen went on the air or TV after Dr. King's assassination to say "we must not resort to violence," one might well have wondered—and immediately guessed—which "we" they particularly had in mind.

The last years of Dr. King's life were confused and confusing. Negro leadership had passed from his hands into those of the violent militants; younger blacks just didn't listen to him much anymore. The whites he addressed, whites who had seemed amenable to Negro demands in the early sixties when more blacks than whites were being killed, showed a far uglier face by the middle of the decade. The old white self, hesitant for a moment after Birmingham and Selma, reasserted itself after Watts and Newark and Detroit; "law and order," the classic device for keeping minorities in their place in a democracy, became the white preoccupation. So far as the Negro was concerned, life was, after a brief flirtation with justice, returning to normal; "normal" means "repression."

And yet, perhaps something more was there to be released. And perhaps it took Dr. King's death to do it. True, the troops were dispatched to put down the rioting which followed the assassination. True, too, that some blacks quickly said that Dr. King's death marked the final demise of Negro non-violence; and they didn't sound unhappy. And, true, there seemed no inevitable likelihood that the various civil rights and poverty bills in Congress and state legislatures (weak bills at that) would now quickly be pushed through.

But there were other signs, more subtle but still telling. There was very little sniping in any of the riot areas in any of the cities. By the standards of Watts, Detroit and Newark, the police and the troops showed an unaccustomed restraint; as long as life was not being directly threatened, looters were given considerable leeway. For once, looting was not made a crime punishable by instant death as it had been too frequently last summer. Maybe we read too much into this restraint, but it was present and it could have a meaning. That meaning, we'd like to hope, is that the white guilt over Dr. King's death ran deep; it made white officials hesitant about bloody suppression. Even the black militants were on the whole restrained; the assassination gave them a grand chance to make their point, but the actual point they made was closer to King's than what they had been saying previously. The death of a non-violent man, it seemed, could have a bite for a moment stronger than that of the violence which killed him.

Will it last? Will the guilt and the restraint take hold, or will it be business as usual in a few weeks? Just about everything depends. White America has had another chance thrust before it, the chance provided by the violent death of a just man. The Kerner report, acknowledged and then quickly brushed aside a few weeks ago, is still there with its plethora of useful recommendations. The money being spent on the Vietnamese war proves that money is available to do just about anything the country wants to do or thinks it has to do. Here and there, business and the churches—the two great conservative institutions in American society—have begun to move. Both are beginning to see that the money must be spent; but they don't yet see how much, sharing with Congress and state legislatures the belief that they can buy Negro justice and equality with spare change.

If the new chance is not accepted, then the violence will return and Dr. King's life will have been confounded. Yet Martin Luther King was not just an advocate of non-violence. He was an advocate of justice and equality. Few persecuted minorities in history have ever won these things by non-violence. Dr. King was looking for a miracle, the kind that breaks all the usual rules of reality. At the moment he died, reality seemed to be winning; the usual rules killed him. Yet the miracle remains possible. God will not bring it about, though. Men will. White men. Or it will not happen, not at all.

PEACE: FIRST STEPS

President Johnson's announcement on March 31 that he was ordering a reduction in the bombing of North Vietnam was such welcome, and surprising, news that the vagueness of the limitation—to an area north of the demilitarized zone where enemy build-up and movement of troops and supplies threatened allied forward positions—was at first overlooked. Then, under prodding by Senator Fulbright, the Administration explained that air strikes would be permitted up to 225 miles above the DMZ, around the 20th parallel. Despite skepticism that this would lead to peace talks, Hanoi responded to the U.S. initiative, indicating a willingness at least to discuss a total halt to the bombing and all other acts of war against North Vietnam. The subsequent lifting of the siege of Khesanh, with the apparent withdrawal of most of North Vietnam's troops from the immediate vicinity of the base, plus President Johnson's further reduction of the bombing to within 170 miles of the DMZ, quickly, almost incredibly, raised the chances of peace to a level that would have been unthinkable even a month ago. There is hope now for an end to the war, but surely no reason for euphoria.

Although it is arguable whether the U.S. or Hanoi is presently acting from greater strength, it should be clear that there will be no outright capitulation on either side.

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The elaborate dance of preparation that began after Hanoi's response is only a hint of the complexities that negotiations will involve. Even the question of where the preliminary negotiators should meet—Cambodia, Geneva, New Delhi, Burma or Tokyo—is fraught with psychological and political as well as practical considerations. And, on questions of substance, the possible ways of settling the war, whether ceding a couple of northern provinces of South Vietnam to Hanoi in exchange for withdrawal of the North's forces plus its effort to reduce the Vietcong's insurgency, or a coalition government in the South to include the National Liberation Front, there is revealed the basic dilemma common to Hanoi and Washington. We must both contend with our allies, we with the Saigon government, North Vietnam with the NLF and, in the background, with the Soviet Union, but especially with China, which seems adamantly opposed to negotiations.

Our relations with the Saigon government, never strong at any period, seem to have deteriorated badly since the Tet offensive. However powerful the desire for peace in the South Vietnamese countryside, the Saigon government, military, middle class and civil servants are exhibiting the "peace jitters," a determination to get on with the war combined with a fear that the U.S. is preparing to sell them out to the Communists. President Thieu, lately seized with a sense of urgency about the war, seems to be moving toward general mobilization, increasing the size of the armed forces and extending the draft to younger and older men. He has also fired a few of the most corrupt province chiefs. Beyond that, Saigon's stance seems little changed. Thieu has approved the arrest and suppression of several of his more prominent political opponents, and, if they agree on little else, Thieu and Ky stand together in rejecting the notion of having NLF representatives at peace negotiations. The U.S. will have to engage in some very firm but delicate diplomatic maneuvering to get Saigon to change its mind on this point. Regardless of our client's sensitivities, no peace settlement is possible without NLF representation.

Anyone who has ever doubted that the war in Vietnam is essentially a civil war will have ample proof of it in the months to come when the various factions of the country try to reconcile their opposing views about how Vietnam should be organized politically, economically, socially. Thus, we have come full cycle in Vietnam. We are face to face with the same political realities that confronted us when we first intervened: who shall govern Vietnam? Who shall own the land? How shall the people be heard?

Since there has been no talk of total cease-fire while the peace talks are going on, the war will continue. It is to be hoped that it will be waged with more restraint than it has been, but still men, women and children on both sides will continue to be killed and maimed. If the peace talks are protracted, there is the danger that one or the other side will lose patience and succumb to the temptation to raise again the level of violence. For our part, we should anticipate considerable pressure from our own and the South Vietnamese military establishments to escalate, and we should be prepared to resist them. However difficult the negotiations or intractable the issues seem, we should not lose sight of the one lesson to have emerged from the past three years: we cannot impose a miltary solution on Vietnam's political problems.

Finally, hoping that the peace talks will ultimately succeed, we should take measures to insure that there is a minimum of reprisals after our withdrawal. Perhaps a neutral international presence would help to limit the retaliations against all the little people who have worked with the Americans. As for the powerful, if we have to airlift Thieu and Ky and hundreds of their associates out of Vietnam and settle them in Thailand, Paris or the banks of the Pedernales in order to save their lives, let us do so. And let us be quick to offer assistance to rebuild a country, north and south, that we have savagely laid waste. In that sense, peace and the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam will not signal the end of our responsibilities but a beginning.

NEXT WEEK

Louis Dupré probes whether a true Marxist can be a religious believer:

"Atheism as denial of supernatural *reality* is merely a conclusion concerning the independence of man's *being* which is implied in his independence of *acting*. That is the only reason why Marx supports his practical humanism by some atheistic considerations."

Black Power Roots on Black Campuses

On Feb. 8, police and national guardsmen in Orangeburg, S.C., opened fire on a group of black college students gathered around a bonfire on the campus of South Carolina State College. Three students were shot to death, 37 more wounded. Two of the dead students were later found to have been shot in the back, as were a majority of the wounded. One student died of loss of blood after he was refused admission to segregated Orangeburg Regional Hospital. Two weeks later, police shot into a crowd of 200 black students demonstrating at Mississippi's Alcorn A&M College. Six were wounded, two hospitalized.

The shooting in South Carolina was reported in the press as the "Orangeburg riot," although reporters and faculty members confirmed that there had been no sniper

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fire from students, no weapons in student hands, no provocation for the police action. South Carolina Gov. Robert E. McNair claimed that the troopers had opened fire, thinking that one of their men had been shot. NBC correspondent Sidney Lazard and Associated Press photographer Dozier Mobley reported, however, that there was plenty of time before the shooting for police to realize that the wounded trooper had only been hit in the head with a piece of wood. Police officials, in explaining their use of heavy gauge shotguns and carbines, claimed that wind blowing away from the students prevented the use of tear gas. However, two State College faculty members distinctly remember an absence of wind, and photographs taken at the time of the shooting show smoke drifting toward the students. Gov. McNair later claimed that the shooting was caused by students who had looted the campus supply of ROTC rifles. But his statement was retracted when reporters discovered that the weapons had not been stolen until after the incident.

After being in the news for a couple of days, the "Orangeburg riot" disappeared from the press. The Alcorn shooting went virtually unreported. White America, presumably, chalked up one more black riot, threw a couple of nervous glances ahead to the summer, and forgot the whole thing. But blacks did not.

Black college presidents, usually critical of student protest and deferential to white authority, strongly denounced the police action in Orangeburg. M. Maceo Jr., acting president of South Carolina State, criticized police over-reaction and defended the right of students to protest legitimate grievances. He was supported by administrators at adjacent Claflin College, whose students were also involved in the incident. Presidents of five black schools in Atlanta, including respected Clark, Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, issued an open letter to President Johnson, Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and state and local officials, in which they declared that "the invasion of college campuses by various police powers in the United States is a trend which can no longer be continued without public protest by responsible educators and other persons interested in preserving the freedom of institutions of higher learning in our country." "Here in America," the letter continued, "we seem to have adopted a 'get tough' national policy based on the use of armored and armed police and guardsmen in killing American citizens at the slightest provocation. . . . That was the avenue taken by Nazi Germany and other police power states."

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, president of Clark College, pointed to the issue even more clearly. "I haven't known of anybody going onto a white college campus," he said, "as much hell as they raise, and start shooting at students. . . . They didn't kill students at Berkeley, and they don't shoot at all the white students raising hell in Florida every spring." The president of Benedict College, a small, private, Negro school in Columbia, S.C., told the Columbia Kiwanis Club, "I have difficulty conceiving in my imagination of the highway patrolmen firing point-blank at predominately white students at the University of South Carolina and Clemson for doing the same thing."

Other traditionally moderate Negro leaders were also vehement in denouncing the Orangeburg shooting. Dr. Charles Thomas, president of the Orangeburg NAACP. called for a boycott of all white businesses, and joined Stanley Wise of SNCC in charging that the shooting was a coordinated attempt to assassinate SNCC organizer Cleveland Sellers. Sellers was wounded in the shooting, jailed, placed under $50,000 bond, and charged with responsibility for the whole affair. Thomas noted that two of the students killed were dressed like Sellers, had the same build and the same hair style. He claimed that an order was given to open fire as soon as Sellers appeared on the scene.

The most striking change of all has been in the feelings of black students since Orangeburg. Moderates have joined radicals in arguing that it is now necessary for black students to arm themselves for protection against police attack. Students in Atlanta have joined in a new Black Student Alliance to decide what black students should do "when the law breaks the law, and the framers of justice are unjust to black people." "When brothers were shot in the back and when troopers opened fire on dormitories, on unarmed students," said Walter Dancy, a leader of the Alliance, "we saw immediately the need to organize ourselves in the black community." Dancy promised that black students in Atlanta "don't plan to allow such a thing to happen on our campuses." At a Southwide meeting of the National Student Association six weeks after the shooting, even moderate student government leaders were advocating guns for campus defense.

The new militants go far beyond the traditional fringe of campus radicals. They are students who, until recently, stood opposed to radical action, even to radical rhetoric. Many are student government leaders, chosen by students in campus-wide elections. Moreover, it is becoming clear that these militant leaders have the support of vast new numbers of students.

In less than a week, at least five black colleges, Howard University (D.C.), Cheyney State (Pa.), Bowie State (Md.), Tuskegee Institute (Ala.), and Virginia State were shut down by mass student protests led by student government officials. At Howard, hundreds of students occupied the school's administration building, denied access to university and government officials, and forced a complete shutdown of the school. At Bowie State, students occupied first the library, then the administration building, protesting the "deplorable" conditions at the black, state-supported college. Protesters resisted threatened action by state troopers, and forced an investigation by the state legislature. At Virginia State, a four-day boycott of classes won a series of concessions based on a 30-page student-grievance report. Actions at Tuskegee and

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Cheyney State were also successful in winning principal student demands.

The moving force behind the changes on black campuses has been SNCC and its talk of black identity, black culture, black power. This is the second school year since the birth of the phrase "black power," and the concepts once scorned by campus intellectuals have taken root. Student protests no longer focus on women's hours and inferior cafeteria food. At Howard the central issue was proposed disciplinary action against students involved in political activities last spring. At Bowie State, students protested unequal distribution of state funds to white and black schools. At Virginia State, students demanded the inclusion of African, Oriental and Negro-American works in art and music courses. Black students on a massive scale are coming to a new image of themselves and of their role as black students. They are demanding that their schools go through a parallel review of their role as black institutions.

The change has been gradual, but it has come, involving independent leaders at first, and then established student government officials. In August, 1966, at the annual congress of the National Student Association, black student government leaders argued strongly against a resolution supporting the new black power concepts. Last summer, the same leaders returned as a united Black Caucus, drafted a militant resolution, and threatened to walk out if it were not passed by the predominantly white body.

This growing campus militancy has now been crystalized by the events at Orangeburg. The response of whites to what must now be seen as an unprovoked attack by police and national guardsmen has been silence, even condemnation of the victims. To black students, the message is absolutely clear: If black campuses are to be protected against police attack, they will have to protect themselves. Orangeburg has argued, more effectively than Stokely Carmichael or Rap Brown, that whites are now so afraid of riots that they have become blind to what is really happening in this country. "Hysteria over black power, a failure of white America to see its positive values and an inclination to over-react to its negative ones, was evident in the events of Orangeburg," concludes a report by the Southern Regional Council, a respected, moderate human relations group. "In such hysteria, the real causes of conflict, the real issues of discontent are lost." Black students, faculty members, and administrators are taking the cue and, even now, beginning to stand together against the outside threat. DAVID STEINBERG

(David Steinberg is a staff member of the United States National Student Association.)

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE PRESIDENTIAL PUZZLE

The transformation of the political scene in recent weeks has belied the pessimism of radicals and far exceeded the optimism of liberals. When I wrote in these pages several months ago that there was "still time for politics," I was convinced that if the disaffection with the Vietnam war was as deeply felt and widely shared as it seemed to be, that disaffection was sure to find some expression in the normal give-and-take of two-party politics. In a free society, politicians respond to the felt necessities of the time. This is particularly true in the United States where pragmatism and compromise rank so high in the hierarchy of political virtues. We are not a doctrinaire people.

But I had expected that this peace sentiment would express itself in some unforeseen way in the contest for the Republican party's nomination. George Romney, however, proved leaden-footed, Nelson Rockefeller suffers from old scars and combat fatigue, and none of the younger Republican doves, such as Senator Mark Hatfield, was quite daring enough to venture a candidacy with no visible resources except the peace sentiment.

Since Eugene McCarthy did have the courage to begin a lonely political pilgrimage, the issue was instead fought out within the Democratic party. Contrary to the fears of his more fervent adherents, McCarthy proved a skilled and successful exponent of the anti-war position. This was in large part because he was low-keyed and understated his argument. The convinced opponents of the war did not need—much as they might have enjoyed—a fiery orator to mobilize them; they mobilized themselves and would have done so for any candidate who offered them any shred of agreement. What was needed was a man to appeal to the middle-of-the-road voters who were in the process of changing their minds about the war. Anger, righteousness, or an excess of zeal might have blocked that process. McCarthy's reasonableness, good humor, and conciliatory approach were important in persuading voters who could not otherwise have been won over.

Robert Kennedy, having delayed his entry into the race, had no "right" time in which to act. If he had waited until after President Johnson withdrew or after the Wisconsin primary, he would have looked even more like an opportunist than he did. Moreover, in deciding to run this year, Kennedy risked his almost certain prospect of winning the nomination in 1972. His more cautious advisers kept pointing out that President Johnson could bring about his own renomination and that if the Democrats were defeated in November, the President and his

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supporters would lay the blame on Kennedy for having divided the party. Only after Mr. Johnson withdrew did Kennedy's decision on March 16 to "go for broke" look politically astute. Up to then, it had looked like a reckless gamble.

It is hard to see how Kennedy can be stopped from winning the nomination, probably on the first ballot. In the pivotal Northern states—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois—the politicians believe that his name at the top of the ticket would do more to carry in local candidates than the name of any other candidate. He has the further advantage that these politicians know him and although they may not like him, they regard him as a man with whom they can do business. He understands patronage, money-raising, and the hard necessities of practical politics. So does Hubert Humphrey, but he seems less electable. To these local politicians, Eugene McCarthy is an unknown quantity.

President Johnson's decision to withdraw derived from a tangled skein of personal pride, political shrewdness, and disinterested patriotism. It is hard to sort out any man's motives, and President Johnson is a more than ordinarily complicated man. Only those who saw him as a paranoid monster or as a two-bit, two-dimensional provincial politician were completely surprised by his decision not to run again. In human terms, his voluntary retirement this year has always been a logical possibility.

Despite his brash, overbearing, self-confident manner, Mr. Johnson in private has been a nervous, high-strung man given to worrying and to trying to look at a problem from every conceivable angle. The phrase "agonizing reappraisal" could have been invented to describe his normal mode of conduct. He has the impulse, normal in any man and markedly so in any political man, to be if not loved by the general public at least popular and well-regarded. Since he watches the leading news and panel shows on television and reads the editorial pages and columnists in the major newspapers, he has been well aware in recent years of the criticism directed at him. He decided to quit because he did not want to leave office as the most hated man in the White House since Herbert Hoover.

President Johnson's political sagacity also played a part in the decision. He could see that he could not win renomination without a struggle that would seriously damage his party and that even if he were then able to win reelection, perhaps as a minority victor in a three-way contest, he would have at best an ambiguous mandate.

Finally, if the war is to be gradually brought to an end, President Johnson recognized that he could not combine that task with the wholly different task of managing his own re-election campaign. Any peace arrived at under existing political and military conditions in Vietnam is going to be an unsatisfactory peace. That is, it is going to be unsatisfactory not to the minority of Americans who have been pressing for peace at any price, but to the majority who until recently have supported the war. The negotiation of such a peace will mean changes in existing policy and call into question the assumptions on which the war has been conducted. A new President elected on a peace program or an outgoing President indifferent to the political consequences could arrange such a settlement, but not a President who had fought the war for three years and who was simultaneously seeking vindication from the voters in the election. If Mr. Johnson had decided to escalate the war further and ask for reelection as an embattled commander-in-chief determined to see the war through to victory, that would have been politically logical. But it became apparent to Mr. Johnson over the course of recent weeks that the country was not in a frame of mind to sustain the war much longer or to accept greater sacrifices. A shift in policy was therefore imperative, a shift that could be carried out more coherently if it was not complicated by partisan quarrels about whether or not to renominate and re-elect him. For the country's sake as well as his own, therefore, he stepped aside.

The future course of political events depends on how the war goes in Vietnam. If President Johnson is able to make a quick breakthrough to a settlement over the next few months, the mood of the country in late August when the Democrats hold their convention and in the fall when the actual campaign is waged would be entirely different than it is now. Foreign affairs would recede temporarily from voters' minds, and domestic problems would be the paramount concern. This would seriously alter the kind of campaign that Richard Nixon, the prospective Republical nominee, would wage.

But if fruitful peace talks do not develop and if Hanoi decides to exert maximum military pressure in the hopes of getting an even better deal from a new President next January, the country's mood might shift in another direction. The sentiment for peace on almost any terms might continue to rise, but there might be a concomitant increase in popular anger and a hardening of American attitudes toward the Communists. Nixon would probably play to this latter strain of feeling and invoke the appeal of patriotism. Kennedy, running on a platform promising an early peace, would then offer the electorate a sharper choice than the candidates of the two major parties usually provide.

Assuming a Kennedy-Nixon race, I think the election may be as close as it was in 1960. Nixon would run stronger in the South than he did eight years ago, even with George Wallace cutting into his vote. But since the religious issue would be much less important, Robert Kennedy could recoup his Southern losses by carrying California, Oregon and Washington where anti-Catholicism cost his brother many votes eight years ago. Once again, the election will turn narrowly on the results in a half-dozen pivotal states, but quite new tides of feeling will be running this time.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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TELE-CULTURE AND THE THIRD WORLD

'El Programa de Max Factor' enters the Gomez home

NEIL P. HURLEY

Possibly because man sees problems more quickly than opportunities, a great deal of contemporary talk centers on the irrelevancy of education in the rich nations and the lack of school facilities in the poor countries. Meanwhile, a silent but effective process of mass learning is going on throughout the world. The transistor radio, the motion picture, television, comic books and picture magazines are coming to be a mammoth system of "para-education" for some one and a half billion people, most of them having less than $850 a year per capita income. For at least a decade in the U.S. we have known that mass media and advertising have taken their place alongside the family, the church and the school as shapers of character, belief and aspirations. Now, the vast power of these new agencies of socialization is spreading swiftly among the "people of poverty."

Just how the big world reaches the unschooled masses by way of the small screen is dramatically illustrated by a report published last year in *Business Week* called "Television is the Message Down in Rio." While only three million of Brazil's 85 million persons own TV sets, the country's addiction to the electronic moving image is far greater than this statistic would indicate. Each day an average of 3.5 viewers out of every hundred stay glued to the set from noon to late evening. This contrasts with only 2.0 viewers in every hundred in the U.S. Nor can print media compete with TV because of Brazil's high illiteracy rate (almost 50%, and higher in the interior regions). Along with a high tolerance for commercials, Brazilian viewers favor locally produced serials and soap operas (a pattern familiar in radio as well), but old movies and videotape programs from America are staples. When "Bonanza" and "The Untouchables" reached their peak of world popularity, it was estimated that some 500 million persons saw these shows weekly.

It is important to understand how economic factors and commercial motives can become psychological, educational and even political categories by a subtle process of metamorphosis consisting of what sociologists call manifest and latent effects. The former are purposes for which action is taken; the latter are the unintended consequences. In order to understand the manifest purposes, we must take a look at the economics of consumer mass media and consumer advertising.

The U.S. is currently spending $16.5 billion a year on advertising. There are a number of people who think that this sum supports a huge ministry of propaganda without portfolio, a ministry which is growing increasingly more powerful outside the U.S. than within it. The most strident voice in the advertising chorus certainly belongs to television. From $57.8 million a year in 1949, TV advertising expenditures have risen sharply to $2,765 million in 1966. The major investors are producers of automobiles, detergents, soap, drugs, tobacco, breakfast cereals, and canned foods. The steady growth of television as an advertising medium has been paralleled by the increase of network affiliates abroad, the cultivation of overseas markets, and the rise in exports of telefilms, videotapes and old Hollywood movies.

Although the U.S. exercises the dominant influence in the shaping of a world "tele-civilization," it has not been alone. About 1960, TV, as a locally-financed medium, reached the expansion of its limits in the less developed areas. At the same time, the commercial TV industries in the more developed lands were approaching the satura-

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tion point in domestic investments. Consequently, Japanese, British, and U.S. partnership arrangements were sought abroad, thus assuring additional outlets for program products.

What of the latent effects of this vast system of mass advertising? What of the non-economic consequences, often unintended and sometimes unrecognized, of commercial media in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the so-called Third World, and on the teeming millions who are more and more being drawn into "sight-and-sound" range of modern media?

Oscar Lewis in *Five Families* (Random House) has recorded the typical way TV exerts its social influence in one Mexican neighborhood. On Saturday and Sunday members of the Gómez family would pay twenty-five centavos for the privilege of watching TV at a neighbor's home. Competition was keen for customers since sets had multiplied in the vicinity. Free potato chips or candy were offered as premiums and the *telespectadores* could stay until the programs stopped at midnight. The women enjoyed "El Conde de Monte Cristo," "El Programa de Max Factor," and "El Teatro Nescafé"; the children were partial to "el cluk Indito" (a cartoon) and the serial, "Boston Blackie," while the men watched boxing matches, soccer games and other sporting events.

Since the advent of TV, Lewis goes on, people stayed up later, listened to the radio less, and went to the movies less. Girls dressed more stylishly and installment buying for TV-advertised wares increased. People had new ideas, especially youngsters who saw different career possibilities they had never imagined.

One thing apparent from all this is that television, like every other medium, produces ambivalent results. We know the schoolroom can produce counterproductive effects: the spirit of competition instead of cooperation, striving for marks and not for learning, the arts of deception instead of honesty, and suspicion of formal authority instead of trust. So, too, even commercially-supported media, however inadvertently, can produce some very positive latent effects. Even a James Bond movie, a doctors' or a nurses' TV serial, a space-exploration adventure, or a private-eye mystery inculcate the values and attitudes that reinforce the Western model of man as a shaper of his own destiny, as one free of environmental determinism and the heavy hand of the past, as a person capable of innovation and choice. Willy-nilly then, American commercial media are promoters of change since they impart a sense of activism to passive peoples, an unmistakable conviction that the individual is a maker of history, and that men are engaged in an on-going process of moral struggle and irreversible choices. The "drop-ins" who are exposed to a stream of such messages receive the definite impression that today is not like yesterday and therefore tomorrow need not be like today. It is no small achievement, this erosion of a fatalistic view of life with its monotonous symbol of the masses as pawns on life's checkerboard of days and nights.

Interlarded with these values, however, are others that are not in the central tradition of the classical Western view of man. One discerns such dubious philosophies as nationalism (America *über alles*), materialism (blind faith in an escalator standard of living), doctrinaire conservatism (social conformity and resistance to change), liberal progressivism ("things get better all the time"), and social Darwinism (survival of the fittest and might makes right).

Since not many Americans are aware of the impact which advertising-supported media have outside the U.S., the power of the American business creed, so sensitive to certain freedoms and so indifferent to others, is underestimated. What has not been thoroughly investigated as yet is the impact of such a creed on simpler, less advanced societies with other types of strain and pressures. For one thing, media messages which reinforce the status quo are ill-fitted to societies which need drastic democratic and social reforms.

Ideological Cold War

Too, we should appreciate how much our influence in the world communications system is fostering an ideological arms race in which Marxists, whether Russian, Cuban or Chinese, must necessarily compete with and challenge America's cherished popular illusions ("people's capitalism," consumer sovereignty, the unions as "labor monopolies," socially responsible management, the sterility of government planning, and advertising as community service and an essential work of public intelligence). In this ideological battle, the information-starved millions, mostly in the Third World, are caught between two sets of shibboleths.

This "cold war" in communications can already be seen in Latin America. In one capital city with two TV stations, one channel is Marxist-controlled and the other follows an American programming format. The Marxist station gains high audience ratings and thus sponsorship by showing U.S. videotaped programs which highlight violence, speed and eroticism, precisely those negative characteristics which Marxists wish to incorporate as the "public image" of America. The President of that particular country entered a strong *caveat* to the U.S. Ambassador, for not only was the image of America being tarnished, thus helping the Marxist cause, but such U.S.-inspired TV acted as a social narcotic, thus playing into the hands of reactionary conservative forces in favor of maintaining the *status quo*.

One thing seems clear. Due to the primacy of America's position in the world of telecommunications, print media advertising and now space communications, a well-conceived American strategy of communications could go far toward impeding the fragmentation of the global communication picture, with rival ideological systems bom-

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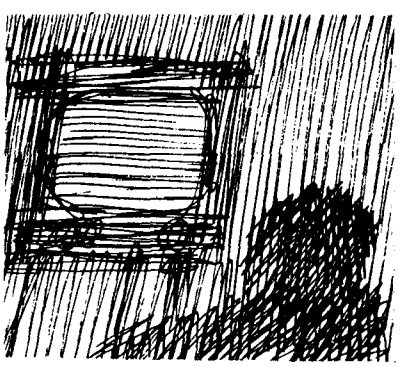
barding one another and non-aligned groups with "newspeak," "double think," and endless versions of "mobile truth."

What elements could be included in a democratic strategy of communications? To begin, the U.S. could carefully search out areas where multi-national, university-type experiments might be established where the human mind can be emancipated for intellectual pursuit instead of constrained by ideological commitments. Only such a system can avoid the present uneasy co-existence between commercially-dominated media which support the propaganda of integration, and revolutionary political systems which agitate on behalf of some utopian scheme.

In addition to fostering disinterested systems of "knowledge-availability," the U.S. must face up to the unintended, at times anti-democratic and anti-educational, consequences of mass consumer advertising. Here moralizing is only an obstacle to effective policy planning. What could be practically done to redirect present advertising policies abroad? If the U.S. government could subsidize in part the efforts of advertising agencies and media, then their skills, experience and behavioral-science techniques could be brought to bear on regional and continental



campaigns for literacy, universal primary education, vocational skills, scientific farming, health, hygiene, nutrition, family planning, civic enlightenment, inspiration and entertainment. Perhaps companies could combine to contribute to documentaries, films, cartoons, slides, TV programs and film strips which could imaginatively treat these broad themes as a form of institutional advertising for medicine, fertilizer, tractors, cars, seed, sewing machines, cooking utensils, furniture, etc. Even though advertising is not taxed in the U.S. as elsewhere, only a subsidy could draw profit-oriented enterprises into what would be, initially at least, a non-lucrative market. The USIA, committed to education in the developing countries, could be the coordinating agency for such a new venture.

The American people are now financing, through the purchase of advertised products from soap to automobiles, our annual $2.7 billion TV effort. If the U.S. government could divert a quarter of that sum to ends more consonant with the national interest, then a start could be made toward a more hopeful future for world communications. The commercial private sector must be drawn into the cultural and educational activities of satellite communications by government "pump-priming" just as synthetic rubber, atomic energy, commercial space communications, and jet transport aviation have all been financed by the U.S. taxpayer in the incipient stages. The commercial private sector must be enlisted in any realistic strategy of world communications.

The Third World is the balance wheel in the complex, delicate workings of a global communications system. Those of us resident in Asia, Africa or Latin America experience the "information see-saw" at work, a relentless and wearying "up-and-down" rhythm of integration and agitation propaganda. The pro-capitalist media emphasize high living standards, social mobility and political freedom; the pro-Marxist media focus on America's youth protests, racial discontent and sexual license. It is perhaps naive to hope for a cosmic perspective before 1975. But one can hope for U.S. leadership to direct the communications revolution of which it has been the major architect, toward universalizing mankind's outlook.

The late Edward R. Murrow, in his testimony at the satellite communications Congressional hearings, said: "Over much of the globe there are unfed bellies and tired bodies that will turn to our satellite system with but marginal interest. In many areas of the planet, the grindstone of poverty will still remain the lodestone of policy." The U.S. has always had a melioristic policy toward democratizing educational opportunity, one might even say almost a missionary zeal concerning this goal, so intimately related to human dignity. Lincoln once said of the American system: "Most governments have been based, practically, on the denial of the equal rights of men, as I have, in part, stated them; ours began by affirming those rights. They said, some men are too ignorant and vicious to share in government. Possibly so, said we; and by your system, you would always keep them ignorant and vicious. We proposed to give all a chance; and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant wiser, and all better and happier together. We made the experiment, and the fruit is before us." Has this experiment ended? In the light of the world's 1.5 billion "drop-ins," let us hope not.

AN APPEAL: Father C. M. Hilary, a missionary in South India, has been serving in a parish of some two thousand people for the past 8 years. "All are tillers of the soil." He reports at the end of March that "this year's crop completely failed on account of drought and the vast majority is already faced with starvation. In my 28 years of ministerial life this is the first time I appeal for some financial help." Readers should send checks or international money orders directly to Father C. M. Hilary, Rajavoor, via Suchindram, South India. (Airmail to India: 25 cents)

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What makes a college Catholic?

A QUESTION OF DISTINCTIVENESS

ROBERT HASSENGER

Catholic higher education is in transition—with a vengeance. There were 162,000 students in Catholic colleges and universities in 1940; today, there are approximately 430,000, and they represent about a third of the Catholics in college; by 1985 only about one-fifth of the Catholics in college will be in Catholic institutions.

There are vast differences in quality within Catholic higher education. For one thing, many of the small colleges lack regional accreditation. Yet the Manhattanvilles and Georgetowns are getting increasing numbers of National Merit Scholars, and Notre Dame is eighteenth among all American colleges for men in choice by NMSC Scholars. Six Catholic colleges and universities are now Phi Beta Kappa affiliates: Catholic University, Fordham, Georgetown, Notre Dame, St. Louis, and the College of St. Catherine. Eleven Fordham students have been designated Woodrow Wilson Fellowship-holders for 1968; Boston College and Notre Dame have eight each, and there are six at St. Louis, five at Marquette.

Such traditional measures of college quality have been supplemented by recent attempts to assess the over-all atmosphere or "climate" of an institution, and these results are less heartening. The findings can be summarized by saying that, although strong group ties were found on most Catholic campuses, particularly the women's colleges, there was at the same time a high degree of control of curricula and even of extracurricular affairs. Basic student freedoms were not observed in many cases and there was considerable regulation of students' lives. Academically, the colleges seemed characterized by a rather anti-intellectual vocationalism, with relatively little interest in liberalizing courses and experiences. Passports to suburbia were being purchased. These characteristics were more typically found in large urban universities than smaller liberal arts colleges, and of the latter, several women's colleges were highest in intellectuality and social concern.

Who *are* the students in Catholic colleges and universities? The most useful studies of Catholics in college have been done by the National Opinion Research Center, at the University of Chicago. These have been in large part the work of Andrew Greeley, who has summarized his general findings in *The Changing Catholic College* (Aldine). After noting that "half the adult Catholic population are either immigrants or the children of immigrants," Greeley cites NORC data which show that students in Catholic colleges are very little different from their Protestant counterparts (although both differ from American Jewish collegians). The most heavily represented ethnic group were the Irish (almost two-fifths), although this was undoubtedly a decline from earlier years, as the more recently arrived groups catch up.

A striking—if overdrawn—portrait of one kind of undergraduate student, the commuter to a large metropolitan Catholic university, can be found in an otherwise uninteresting book on New York's St. John's University (*Crisis at St. John's,* by Joseph Scimecca and Roland Damiano, Random House). Typically the first in his family to attend college, the St. John's undergraduate is likely to come from a working-class or lower-middle-class family living in Brooklyn or Queens, and is interested only in acquiring the credentials that will allow him to get his feet on the bottom rung of the upward-mobility ladder. He tended to be relatively uninterested in the academic freedom issues at stake in the St. John's strike, but he was worried that his own grades and credits might be in jeopardy. Many came from second- or third-generation American families, with strong emphases on order and discipline, which the Catholic high schools the students attended only reinforced. Their social and political attitudes underwent little change during their St. John's years: the "status politics" which bred a hyper-patriotic conservatism among their parents was reflected in the overwhelming victory of William Buckley in the campus mock mayoral election. With the assimilation of Catholic immigrant groups, however—often using the education or engineering degrees obtained by commuting to the St. Johns of the major cities—such patterns may largely disappear. Escalating tuition costs will also likely mean an increasingly upper-middle-class clientele, if they can hold even them.

With the mushrooming of public education, it becomes not only cheaper to commute to the large public urban institutions like City University of New York and Illinois in Chicago, but even less expensive to go away to a state institution, than to commute to a Catholic college. These commuter colleges will have trouble competing with the new public colleges and junior colleges; the larger proportions of lay faculty in the com-

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muter schools has meant increased tuition charges, which hit commuting students proportionately harder. In addition, as the Catholic colleges become more and more like their secular counterparts, there are fewer reasons to pay twice as much for the same education. Both the predominantly working-class, commuter schools, then, and the traditionally middle-class colleges may be hard put to survive by the 1970's and '80s.

College costs tripled between 1955 and 1965; the U.S. Office of Education estimates that a student in a private college in 1975 will be paying an average of $4,294 for each year of his education, compared to $3,102 in 1965, and $1,875 in 1955. Some Catholic colleges tried guaranteed tuition plans, aimed at attracting students from money-conscious, lower-middle- or working-class families, but have had to abandon them in the face of soaring costs. Some Catholic college administrators have seemed to believe that, if only they could attract more students, they could somehow survive. What administrators often fail to grasp, however, is that when colleges assume more of the cost of education (it is the rare good college where tuition covers more than half of the instructional costs), it can fall farther behind, the more students it attracts.

The handful of Catholic universities that have charged ahead during the 1950's and '60s will probably continue to prosper, and one or two may become great (the smart money is on Fordham and Notre Dame, followed by Boston College and St. Louis). But their secular counterparts will not be standing still, and if it is encouraging to learn that the College Board Scores of 1967 Notre Dame freshmen are not unlike those in many Ivy League colleges in 1957, it is frustrating to realize that the gap separating these institutions is still immense. Many second-rate Catholic colleges will die, not with a bang, but a whimper.

To stave off such a fate, an increasing number of Catholic colleges are talking about closer cooperation, at least to eliminate duplicated facilities and programs. And there is talk of "merger," "affiliation" or "coordination." St. Thomas (men) and St. Catherine (women) in Minnesota have exchanged students since 1957. Thomas More College within Fordham University (Bronx Campus) enrolls women, and has a lay woman dean, the first in Fordham's history. Marymount in Los Angeles has moved to the campus of Loyola; Ursuline and Bellarmine in Louisville will merge by 1969, and St. John's in Collegeville is doing a joint study with St. Benedict's, four miles away, about the extent to which they should merge; a similar investigation is underway at Illinois' Lewis and St. Francis. St. Mary's and Notre Dame exchange students: in the Spring of 1968, 120 Notre Dame students were enrolled in 168 courses at St. Mary's, with 263 ladies making the trip the other way, to take 423 Notre Dame courses (obviously, the same students tend to take more than one course). Such cooperative ventures will doubtless continue, and perhaps be expanded. Barat College has been told by the educational consultant firm of Hobson and Heald to get out of Lake Forest, and is presently giving careful consideration to a proposed move to Notre Dame, to become a cluster college on the periphery of the University. Perhaps a third and even a fourth women's college will move there; at least one more is considering it. Some of the faculty at St. Mary's and Barat oppose these moves. They are concerned, quite legitimately, about what will become of the bottom half of a faculty, many of whom are not qualified to teach in a university, and yet to whom the college has some moral obligations. Some might be qualified to teach lower division courses but this would mean giving up "their" courses and teaching only freshmen and sophomores. If such problems can be solved, we probably will see even more articulation, and some amalgamation, in the years ahead.

Changing Patterns of Control

In early 1967, a flurry of announcements heralded the appointment of laymen to the boards of trustees of a number of Catholic colleges and universities. By the end of this year, 94 percent of the diocesan-sponsored colleges and 80 percent of those run by brothers will have laymen on their boards, compared to about 40 percent of the colleges run by priests or sisters. Many institutions undoubtedly would have moved in this direction by their own evolutionary processes. But some of the laggards were probably prompted to action by the research of Father John J. McGrath (*Catholic Institutions in the United States: Canonical and Civil Law Status*, Catholic University Press). He concluded that: "Charitable and educational institutions chartered as corporations under American law are not *owned* by the sponsoring body. . . . If anyone *owns* the assets of the charitable or educational institution, it is the general public. Failure to appreciate this fact has led to the mistaken idea that the property of the institution is the property of the sponsoring body." (His italics)

McGrath further pointed out that a religious or sectarian body cannot transform such a corporation, with its clearly defined rights and powers, into assets for the sponsoring body, and urged that great care be taken to separate the finances of the institution from those of the religious community.

It would be naive, however, to expect the presence of laymen on trustee boards automatically to solve all a college's problems. There is today a certain "anti-authoritarian romanticism," as David Riesman puts it, in the discussions of many young priests and laymen; they appear to believe that all of the problems of Catholic universities would disappear if only they were laicized. But of course they would not. For one thing, the lay trustees are more apt to be chosen from among businessmen and industrialists than from among educators and social crit-

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ics, and they may be even more likely than religious to turn out what Riesman calls "patriotic, sports-loving, smooth but unsophisticated young men and piously protected, 'feminine' young women."

Should this happen, the Catholic colleges will be faced with some of the same problems as universities in states where contractors and tycoons dominate the state boards of regents. Then, too, the distinctive sense of purpose that some religious have shown, which has forced change and contributed greatly to the vast improvements in several leading Catholic universities, may well be dissipated in a radical democratization that creates departmental baronies. With decentralization, mediocrity can protect and perpetuate itself.

There is one undue restriction which still is found in even the reorganized St. Louis and Notre Dame, however: the stipulation that the university president must come from the ranks of the religious order. Such a requirement is bound to limit a school's possibilities, if only by the sheer law of averages. It may be that this stipulation was the outcome of political maneuverings, as *quid pro quo's* to community members less persuaded of the need for reorganization, and that the requirement will disappear five or ten years hence. The significant thing is the changes which have already occurred, although it would be unrealistic to expect such changes to assure survival.

The Future

The real issue Catholic institutions of higher learning face is their distinctiveness: what about them will be effectively Catholic, or even Christian? Few people any longer pretend to know the exact nature of a "Catholic university." The new statutes of the reorganized Notre Dame specify that the intellectual life of the University "should at all times be enlivened and sustained by a devotion to the twin disciplines of theology and philosophy," which are "viewed as being central to the University's existence and function." Similar language is issued by Notre Dame's President, in his Introduction to the Notre Dame Faculty Manual, effective September, 1967. In the section on academic freedom, the faculty member is reminded of his responsibility not to "maintain a position contrary to the basic aims of this Institution as outlined in the Introduction." In a later section defining criteria for dismissal from the University, one listed is "continual serious disrespect or disregard for the Catholic character of this institution." But what is "Catholic character?" Assuming that can be answered, how does one square Catholic with university? Writing in *Commonweal* last spring, John Cogley suggested that one can not do so, and Jacqueline Grennan has asserted that "the very nature of *higher* education is opposed to juridical control by the Church." Few today would disagree that, if Catholic institutions of higher learning are to be considered real universities, scholars there must have all the freedom available to their counterparts in other institutions. It should also be clear that Catholic colleges and universities do not represent the teaching authority of the Church and this makes many Catholic educators resist financial support from the bishops, lest their independence from the teaching Church be compromised. I' is absolutely necessary to insist on the university's autonomy; it must not be subject to pressure from outside interest groups. For a Catholic university, one such group is the institutional Church. But even if something is believed to be, in fact *known* to be, contrary to present Catholic teaching, any investigation must be by one's academic peers, with all the procedures of due process observed. If this is not assured, and if the local bishop, or papal nuncio, or any other Church official, can interfere with what occurs within a university, then it will make precious little difference whether deeds to Catholic schools are in the hands of lay trustees or religious, and it will be difficult to disagree with Jacqueline Grennan: higher education *will*, in practice, be opposed to Church control.

I for one do not think it has to be. Catholic colleges and universities can exist to provide opportunities for faculty and students, who share certain commitments and wish to explore certain questions, to come together for mutual influence and learning. The Catholic colleges and universities will provide environments which attract, among others, those who want to discover what it means to be a Catholic Christian, and who seek to do so in a free, yet informed way. They will want to begin or extend and deepen their own religious commitments. But these environments will not demand that such commitments be made by all, nor that such questions be asked by all. These are matters of individual choice and conviction.

Educators in Catholic colleges will recognize that the principal means of individual growth is the influence of people on each other; while seeking to develop high-quality graduate and professional programs, Catholic institutions will insist on providing sufficiently for maximal personal development by students. This means that students must have the freedom to make mistakes and the opportunities to learn from them.

By fostering academic excellence, Catholic colleges and universities will attract talented and creative people; by fostering an atmosphere where ultimate questions are asked and a diversity of views presented, the colleges and universities will attract those with a high level of personal commitment and promote the dialogue between the Church and the contemporary world; by providing opportunities to deepen and extend one's Catholic Christianity, the institutions will attract both those who seek excellent training as theologians and those who seek to influence society in other capacities, but who want the best possible education in their religious heritage. Thus, the college and university will be not only focal points for the Church's thinking, but also places where the commitment and competence to serve the world are promoted.

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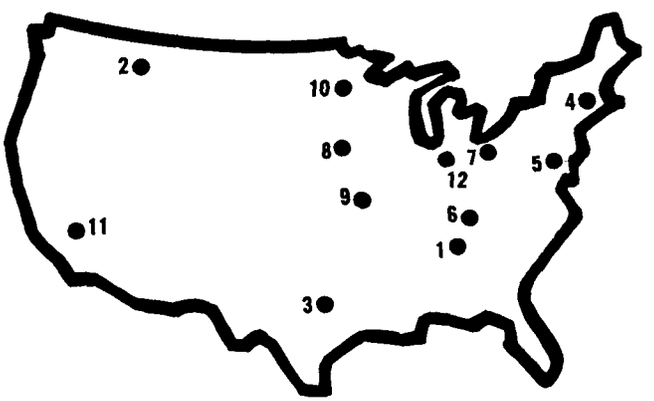

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Where will the university get its values?

A REPUBLIC OF VIRTUE

HARVEY COX

When Clark Kerr came to Harvard last month on a fact-finding tour in connection with his job as head of the Commission on Higher Education in America, it provided a propitious occasion for bringing together a lot of people from different sections of *one* university to talk about "the" university. We come together occasionally to talk about other things, seldom to tackle any subject quite so large or so close at hand. There was little agreement.

What is the future of the university? On the one hand there are those who see it as the central, if not determinative, institution in the next decades of American social development. Just as our nation started with clusters of population around ports, then became a land where cities grew up at railway centers, tomorrow, so the argument runs, universities will provide the cog around which the rest of the society's spokes will rotate.

The reason advanced for this theory is that ours is fast becoming a technological society, an open meritocracy in which competence rather than social status will be rewarded and in which research and the storage and retrieval of information will be pivotal functions. Everyone will have to be periodically retrained no matter what his job since things will be changing so fast. People will go to school off and on throughout their lives, engaged in what McLuhan once called "learning a living." All this argues for a larger role for the university.

But there are other pieces in the puzzle which point to a different prognosis. Although education, training and research are getting more important, the university has no monopoly on these items. Research is an independent and very lucrative business. Firms doing research on a contract basis account for a goodly percentage of the business growth in the Boston area, for example, and in many other areas as well. Education and training are now being carried on by industry and government on a wholly unprecedented scale. IBM's budget for education alone is bigger than the entire budget of Harvard University. Just because we're becoming an educationally structured society does not mean necessarily that universities will become more pre-eminent. Lockheed, RAND and Mitre Corporation could pre-empt part of the increase very easily.

HARVEY COX, *a faculty member at Harvard, contributes a regular column to these pages.*

There are also signs that the nation will not continue to increase its investment in higher education during the next decade at the same clip it has raised the ante during the past ten years. Sputnik was a national embarrassment ten years ago. Not now. A survey of state legislatures recently indicated a lessening interest on the part of finance committees and state legislatures in raising support for higher education. The national boom in higher education may be leveling off. Daniel Bell in fact predicts a period of increased hostility and suspicion between the educational community, especially the university, and the rest of society. Ronald Reagan's attack on the California university system, though it did not wholly succeed from his point of view, did convince some people that though parents want their youngsters to get a college education, they remain suspicious of certain aspects of university culture. They want their kids to be equipped to compete in the society, not to be inspired to reconstruct it. Though people know education is financially rewarding today, there is very little sympathy for or understanding of the notion of free and unhindered inquiry or of the university as a critic of the society.

Is there any indication that universities will respond to the pressures being placed on them in an independent way? The question is an open one. When Senator Fulbright a few weeks ago used the phrase "military-industrial-academic complex," he hurt a lot of feelings, but he wasn't far from the mark. Universities, including many of their faculty members, have profited a great deal from the recent largesse heaped on them by a competitive, gimmick-bedazzled, increasingly militarized society. Contrary to some people's opinions, it is not simply the sciences that have profited from the cold war and the Vietnam debacle. Inventive administrators in other fields find ways of diverting some of the cash flow into their sluices. Even graduate students in religion have been known to receive National Defense Education Act funds. The demonstrations against Dow recruiters, though often carried off in ways which many other napalm-haters disapproved, did confront many of us in the university with the uncomfortable fact that our celebrated "neutrality" was really a hoax. How neutral is a university in whose buildings napalm was invented, its producers are recruited, and its users are trained (by ROTC)? Recently a group of students at Boston University succeeded in getting a prospective donor of $500,000 so annoyed that

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he withdrew his gift. The students insisted he had made his money as a slumlord and that their university should not accept tainted filthy lucre. Although I wondered when I read this how carefully each of those students examined the sources of the parental income from whence cometh the monthly allowance check, still it was another conscience prick. Can a university name a building for someone whose income derives from slum dwellings which constitute so much of the problem commencement speakers declaim about? It's all so much more complicated than it was when Rockefeller built the University of Chicago and no one thought even once about not accepting the money.

Despite all this talk, of course, the real question about the future of the university is not where its money will come from, but where it will get its values. In his brilliant chapter on the university in *The New Industrial State*, John Kenneth Galbraith speaks of what he calls the university's "habit of obsequiousness." Retained from those days of yore when penurious university presidents stood hat in hand at the gates of rich men's estates (at least figuratively), these habits, says Galbraith, are inappropriate for the age of the new industrial state. First, he claims, universities are badly needed now. Knowledge is power and the society will have to pay for the university's contribution even if it doesn't want to. Second, he contends that the university is not obliged merely to turn out well-honed human parts for the industrial apparatus. It is not required to instill the values of a callous, acquisitive society. It has a more ancient mandate: to liberate men.

Galbraith may overestimate the value of the university as such to the industrial society. Other outfits can store information, process people through retraining programs and reduce the development time on a snapshot from 30 to 20 seconds. If the leaders of the new industrial state find out, as the telephone company did a few years back, that reading James Joyce and looking at Picasso canvasses helps their executives to think more creatively, that can be done outside of universities too. The question of values is a more basic one. If the university does cultivate a set of values different from those of the modern technocratic culture, what will they be? And will the university be able and willing to stick with them even when the going gets very rough?

The idea of the university not just as a republic of letters but also as a republic of virtue is, I think, open again. After the collapse of project Camelot, the fights between universities and local black communities, the Dow demonstrations, the debates over classified research, the disclosure of the CIA's subsidization of many cultural organizations, it has now become clear that we can-

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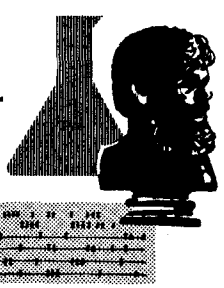

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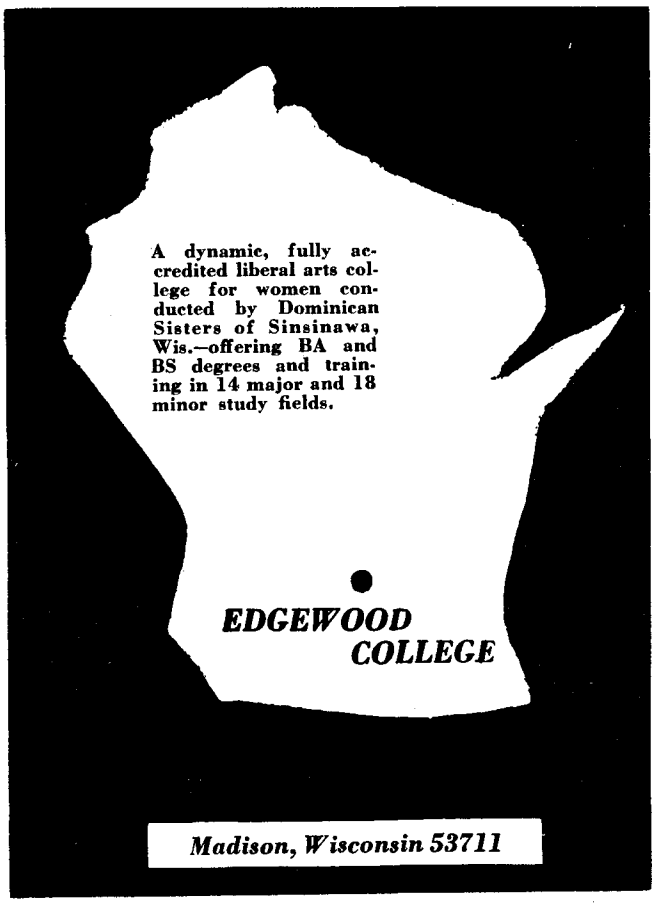
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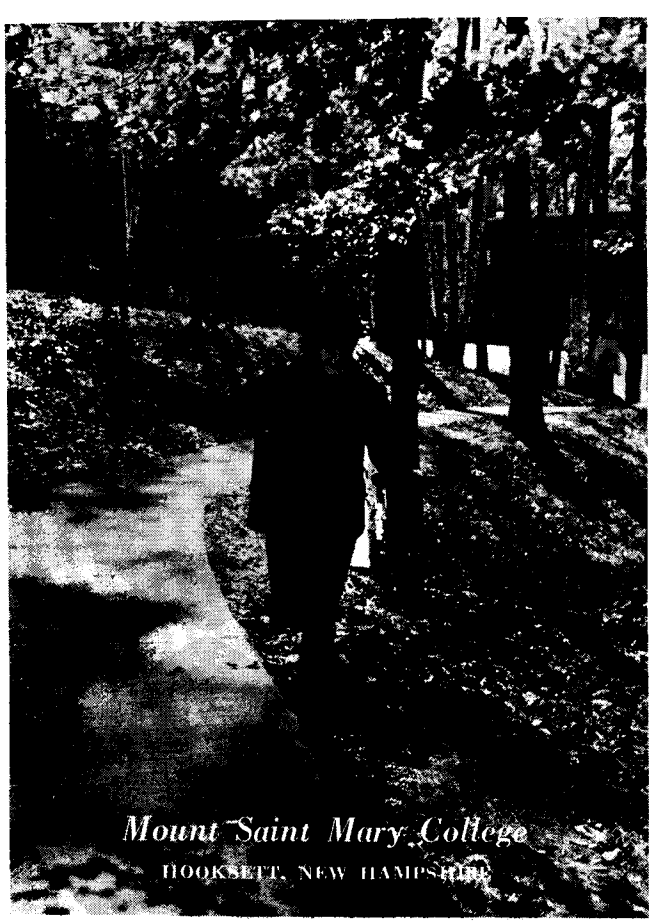

not simply let the matter of values and purposes go by default. It won't. If the piper doesn't call the tune himself, someone will. The vision of a university blindly committed to fixed values and zealously sacrificing all else to pursue them is a terrifying one. But so is the present reality of a university in fact committed to confused, undiscussed and hidden values, denying all the while it is anything but a pure *wertfrei* enterprise.

Where will the university get its values? Certainly they cannot be merely national or denominational. They cannot be Christian in any very particular sense. But they must be conscious, admitted, perhaps even celebrated. The university has a long history as an international community of scholars bound only by fidelity to each other and to the quest for truth, whatever that is. It is a tradition whose values should not be sacrificed either to fanaticism or to phony neutrality. And they must be cherished even if no one wants to pay for them.

STUDIES IN EVIL

THE STAGE

In the theater—at least, in the establishment theater—it takes courage to be against ordinary things. *Loot*, a scrappy little English farce that hits out against everything (even the final curtain goes down fighting), has not found an audience on Broadway. I did not care for Joe Orton's first comedy, *Entertaining Mr. Sloane*, which, for all its thematic unconventionality, was structurally a commonplace, well-made play. In *Loot*, Orton loosened his form and borrowed, rather successfully, some devices from the absurdist theater. But then the absurdity of life caught up with the homosexual playwright: at the age of 34, Orton was gruesomely murdered by his roommate.

The plot of *Loot* is unimportant. It involves a brand new Catholic widower about to marry the sweet Catholic nurse who actually killed his wife and who, after marrying him, will kill him, too—she has a record of such crimes. It also involves the man's son, who, with his equally bisexual chum working for the undertaker, has robbed a bank, and must hide the loot in his mother's coffin. And there is the idiot-savant policeman, doggedly sleuthing and bullying away, but ultimately most interested in getting the lion's share of the loot. The play takes the form of a crazy juggling act, with the money and the corpse continually switching hiding places, if not actually flying through the air. The characters are all Catholics, policemen, or criminals, or a combination of these, plus that flying, incessantly undressed or wrapped-up, and otherwise manhandled cadaver. And, as you might expect, the jugglers of our lady's corpse end up thriving in direct proportion to their wickedness.

The immediate butts of Orton's humor, which is a

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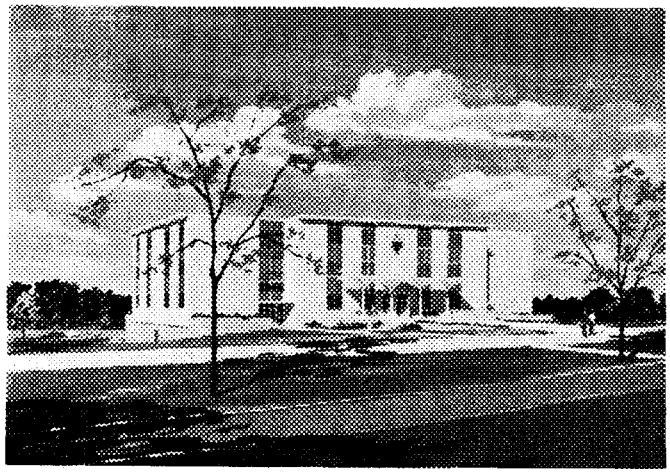

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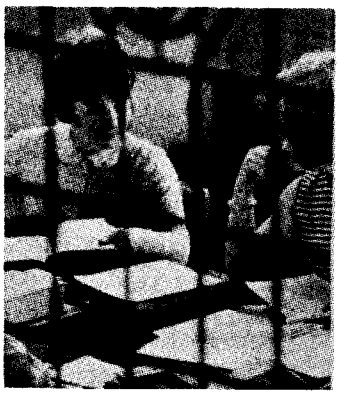

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curious amalgam of virulence and ingenuousness, are Catholicism, the police, the family, and what in this world passes for love. Some of the jokes carry lethal laughter, some collapse with a dull, albeit iconoclastic, thud, and some are quite wholesomely silly. But underlying all the humor—black, brazen, or merely blatant—is not anti-Catholicism or anti-policism or whatnot; rather, the recognition of a fundamental, horrid injustice disguising itself as respect for the accepted decencies. If the swinish police inspector proclaims, "It is for your own good that authority behaves in this seemingly alarming manner" (in view of his Gestapo tactics, that "seemingly" is richly comic); or if the nurse declares, "I would have practiced euthanasia if my religion did not forbid it, so I decided to murder her"; these and other such sallies are all finally attacks on hypocrisy and greed, which are seen as the stuff of life.

Take a gag described by Walter Kerr as "no joke at all"; when the son says of his pal and himself, "We shared the same cradle," the nurse inquires, "Was that economy or malpractice?" At the lowest level, this illustrates the nurse's dirtymindedness. But, on second thought, the boys did apparently grow up to be sexually involved with each other—may not the child be father to the fag? And, further, is this not a highly suggestive bracketing of economy and malpractice—of economics and malfeasance—which become casual, almost synonymous, alternatives? But Kerr sees no joke at all there, and "no goal' in the play. No doubt, to a theatergoer who cannot, or will not contemplate the possibility of a universe whose repertoire ranges from immorality to amorality—not even from A to B, only from Y to Z—and in which the one decent soul, the father, comes to grief, *Loot* is a pointless play. But to those who have been looking around them and have come to wonder about the grotesque farce that is being so dramatically enacted just about everywhere except on the Broadway stage, *Loot*, in its imperfect way, may seem neither unfunny nor unmeaningful. (*At the Biltmore*)

The most exciting, deeply involving, aesthetically and intellectually rewarding theatrical experience this season was the visiting Vienna Burgtheater's first bill, *Professor Bernhardi*, by Arthur Schnitzler. This comic drama of 1913, seen by most critics and all the City Center's largely refugee audience as a mere attack on anti-Semitism, goes much deeper than that. The story concerns a Jewish doctor's refusal to admit a priest to the bedside of a dying patient: for the first and last time in her life this girl is happy in a delusion—why ruin it with the awareness of imminent death? As a result of this action, there is medical and political intrigue and scandal; the doctor's position is undercut and he is imprisoned; finally, however, Prof. Bernhardi emerges triumphantly as a martyr and hero. But all this is just the surface of the play in which two themes contend.

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One of the themes is stated by the professor on his release from jail, "That people should behave shabbily toward someone they dislike, or because they derive some advantage from such an attitude, is finally no cause for wonder. But one sort has always remained a mystery to me . . . the people with selfless scurviness [*selbstlose Gemeinheit*] . . . those who behave scurvily without deriving the slightest benefit from it, out of sheer enjoyment of the thing, so to speak." The other main theme of *Professor Bernhardi* is sounded in the very last line of the play. The brave and noble protagonist tries to convince the wise but amiably cynical Counselor Winkler that the latter would have done the same thing in his shoes. "Could be," answers the *Hofrat*, "in which case I would have been—forgive me, Professor—just as much of an ass as you." Curtain. And the whole idealism of the play is retroactively, and ever so charmingly, undermined. I cannot go into the marvels of the play and production here, but I must stress that an enormous cast acted impeccably —and, in some cases, sublimely—down to the last man. It all went to prove that theater, straight and ungimmicked-up theater, without benefit of Peter Brook or Jan Kott, is still absolutely viable.

The Burgtheater also offered engaging and expert renditions of Bahr's *Das Konzert* and Nestroy's *Einen Jux will er sich machen* (the 1842 granddaddy of *Hello, Dolly!*), slight but amusing plays handsomely designed by Lois Egg; and, further, a ramshackle *Maria Stuart*, in which Schiller's already somewhat creaky play sounded like bone-crunching in high amplification. One of the greater joys of these offerings was the measuredness of the delivery. Actors like Ernst Deutsch, Josef Meinrad, and Susi Nicoletti speak their lines in a sculptural slow-motion. The rallentandos allow for highly sculptured inflections and overtones, and the pauses permit the mind to walk around the words, savoring them, like a piece of statuary, from all angles.

But woe unto the non-German-speaking audience: what was piped into their earphones was something like the Three Witches, not, to be sure, from Macbeth's highlands, but from the Austrian Alps. It was not translation but desecration; neither, on the other hand, was it selfless scurviness—only the producers' way of saving a buck. *(At the City Center)*

JOHN SIMON

THERE'S A SPY IN MY ASPIC

THE SCREEN

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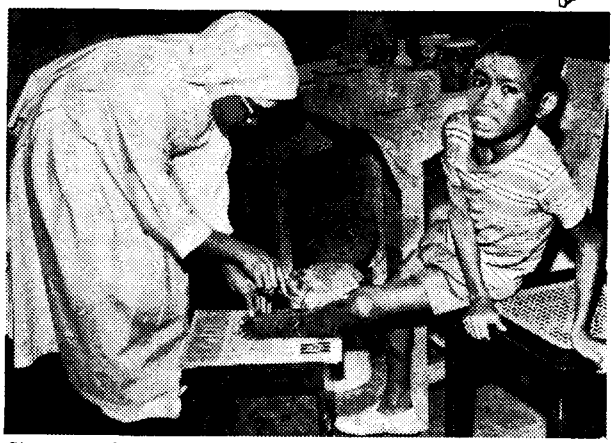

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wane. That must have been wishful thinking. But if the current examples in each type are examples of what's going to be dished up now, perhaps I should go on being wishful.

"A Dandy in Aspic" has a classy production with a large and good cast (Laurence Harvey, Tom Courtenay, Lionel Stander, Peter Cook, Per Oscarsson, Harry Andrews, *et al*) and some fine color photography of London and even better of Berlin. What it doesn't have, however, is a clear, clean story so you can follow what's going on and what all the spying, double-spying, violence and lectures on the dirtiness of this indecent business are leading up to. In writing the screenplay from his own novel, Derek Marlowe forgets that with such a large roster of characters, some of whom are double agents and have two names, the audience cannot always associate the name with the character (and actor) and gets lost in the welter of cross references. The confusion in "Dandy" is further heightened by having two very good actors, Tom Courtenay and Per Oscarsson, who look too much alike, playing agents from opposing countries.

Perhaps following the plot isn't the important thing in spy pictures anymore. We finally figure out that Laurence Harvey, elegantly attired as a dandy in England where he has lived for years and works for British Intelligence, is really a Russian spy and would like to return to the fatherland. But the fathers don't want him; and the British give him the job of killing the Russian agent who is himself. Mia Farrow, as a photographer, turns up in London and Berlin as love interest, but Harvey also suspects her real motives. Throughout "Dandy," everyone suspects everyone else; the picture has suspenseful scenes of conflict (mental and physical), and manages again to get across the message about what a nasty and immoral job spying really is. Directors Anthony Mann and Laurence Harvey, who took over when Mann died during the filming, never succeed in making us care about the people one way or the other. So "Dandy" becomes little more than a well-made exercise in thrills.

Except for its excessive violence, "P.J." is reminiscent of the old-fashioned private-eye movies that we used to see Dick Powell and Humphrey Bogart in. George Peppard plays the poor, rather decent detective in this one. He's hired by a stingy, ruthless tycoon (Raymond Burr) to protect the rich man's mistress (Gayle Hunnicutt) from his wife's relatives. What P.J. goes through on this thoroughly unpleasant job shouldn't happen to a dog—or even to a double agent who knows darned well he's in for mayhem. If you can sit through the tiresome plot, you're bound to wake up during two of the most horrible scenes ever shown in films. P.J., anxious to follow a clue in a bar for homosexuals, is beaten and cut up like meat on a butcher's block by the gay folk wearing rings and bracelets with knives. Later P.J. manages to escape a pursuer in a subway station, and this villainous fellow, caught on the train, is smashed into pulp when the car goes into the tunnel. If you're still with "P.J." after these sadistic displays, you shouldn't be.

"Madigan" has so much going for it with its good cast (Richard Widmark, Henry Fonda, Harry Guardino, James Whitmore, Inger Stevens, Michael Dunn and many more) and good director (Donald Siegel) and fine production throughout that one regrets the picture isn't better. Its main theme about the workings of the police force in New York is fascinating, but the plot has so many subplots, all of equal interest, that the movie as a whole seems like a series of TV programs strung together. The story of Widmark and Guardino pursuing a killer is packed with suspense. And so in its way is the story of the Commissioner (Fonda) who is having problems with his mistress and even more serious problems on the job where one of his best boys is involved in crooked business. If "Madigan" could have concentrated on one story, it could easily have become a superior film. Even as it stands it will hold your interest and make you care about its characters, whether or not you approve of them.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Of Simone de Beauvoir, Jerome Frank, William Gass and other beaux scribes

Les Belles Images

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

Putnam, $4.95

WARREN COFFEY

The *Racing Form,* I am told by a worldly friend, has a laconic formula, "dwelt," to describe the performance of horses that refuse to leave the starting gate and are never in the race. *Les Belles Images* dwelt. Simone de Beauvoir books have a way of doing that. Or had you noticed? They don't begin to exist as novels, whether short like the one in hand or long heart-to-hearters like *The Mandarins.*

Cliché is part of the trouble. They all seem to have come out of a Make an Existentialist Novel at Home Tonight kit. (The parts are standard and may be secured directly from your dealer or from the factory.) *Les Belles Images* is a good enough example. It's about a Successful But Alienated Ad-Woman named Laurence who is married to a Sincere Architect: "And suddenly there

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he was; he took her in his arms, and the tenderness became a molten flood coursing through Laurence's veins; and as their lips came together she staggered with desire."

Laurence is 30ish and has two daughters (one Normal, one Fey) and a Gallic Lover ("Lucien slipped open her dressing gown and stroked her knee"). She has a Mama, Dominique, the Cast Mistress Of An Electronics King ("big sinews stood out under the skin of her throat—suddenly it was a very old woman's throat"), and a Papa, the latter a Professor Of Something, for whom Laurence has an imperfectly Suppressed Yen. She also has a sister, Marthe, who is Religious And Smug, and a history of unhappiness, including memories of some bad road in 1945 (The Bomb, Etc.) and a nervous breakdown (About Algeria). As in Figure 7.

Laurence has taken a job at an advertising agency to mend from the nervous breakdown—work-therapy seems to be the idea, though she takes the cash too and enjoys the measure of independent movement it gives her in her marriage. Laurence is the kind of woman who spends a lot of time wondering "What have the others got that I haven't?" She knows she is unhappy but is unable or unwilling to admit that others are mostly unhappy too, presumably because that would mean there is no such thing as happiness.

In writing advertising copy she comes to be depressed by the trashiness of most human motivation and to understand intimately how, by the manipulation of images, *les belles images*, products are vended. "Smoothness, brilliance, shine; the dream of gliding, of icy perfection; erotic values and infantile values (innocence;) speed, domination, warmth, security." She is shocked to realize that many human relationships go that way too. Her eventual break-up with her lover, Lucien, comes about not because of any change of heart, but because she makes a choice between him and her husband in much the same way as one might choose between the Standard gasoline station and the one with Phillips 66.

She has come to be incapable of real

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emotion, but though she professes to disdain the luxury of the world in which her job helps her to move—the book is full of well-cut suits, silk scarves, pigskin suitcases, black pearls, ruby chokers—she never thinks of quitting the job. Nor does the possibility occur to the author. That is what struck me as absolutely false in the book and more destructive even than the triteness of conception and writing. Laurence works both sides of the street. She strikes existentialist poses, but she writes advertisements. It's like the Yoga program on television when the man breaks in to sell the organic cosmetics.

Laurence's best hope of getting clear of the Slough of Despond is her daughter Catherine, the Fey one, who at ten and a half—she looks like an existentialist mutant and may be a portent of something—goes around asking "Mama, why do people live?" A lot depends, I suppose, on how you feel about such children. Her father is for packing her off to a psychiatrist instanter, but Laurence, after a trip to Greece to find answers (Tableau, The Gods Depart, The Oracles Are Dumb, Interlude, Movable Type, The Battle of the Somme, Jean-Paul Sartre), she comes back determined to agonize through her bouts of nausea with a stiff existential lip and a hey-nonny-no and not let her daughter's life be governed by fashionable images. She goes off at Stage Left, gaining altitude and headed for *Redbook*.

Sanity & Survival

JEROME D. FRANK

Random House, $5.95

LEONARD C. LEWIN

I came to this book with more than the usual skepticism, partly because of its subtitle, *Psychological Aspects of War and Peace,* which led me to believe that a condescending yahoo review of it I had seen (by some smug psychoanalyst) might not be far off the mark. I expected to find an elaborately developed, academically naive, psychological-analogy interpretation of the causes of war, followed by some unworldly prescription for living happily ever after. It is nothing of the sort. It is a constructive contribution to the literature of peace.

Dr. Frank, a distinguished Johns Hopkins psychiatrist, does indeed imply more relevance for the study of individual behavior patterns to the etiology of war and peace than most of us would be willing to accept. But his explicit claim is modest—that such study *may* be helpful to a useful degree—and nowhere does he stretch his analogies beyond the point of reflective suggestion, in refreshing contrast to the currently fashionable pop ethologists coming on strong with their all-inclusive theories of social behavior. And he does indeed sound wishfully naive in his urging of large-scale international experimentation in aggressive non-violence, but it is clear in context that he has a realistic sense of proportion about such proposals.

This sense of proportion, in fact, is characteristic of the book as a whole. It might be said to consist of a review and analysis of two kinds of literature: behavioral studies that Dr. Frank believes may have some bearing on peace politics, and the more general writings on war and peace that he uses to frame the questions as he sees them. To me, nevertheless, the most valuable function that his efforts serve is that of a reminder, cogently argued and straightforwardly presented, that the war system *must* be ended, and ended permanently and soon, if civilization-as-we-know-it, not to mention the human-species-itself, is to survive. The new fact is that alternatives that seemed utopian, if not outright cranky, only two generations ago are the realistic ones today; it is the business-as-usual systems analysts and the "objective" war planners who have lost touch with the new realities.

This is, of course, apocalyptic talk, and therefore suspect. But we do live on the edge of annihilation, and many of us know it—*when* we think of it. (Most of us are insulated from this awareness by the lack of first-hand sensory experience of it, just as today's push-button mass killers are protected from seeing,

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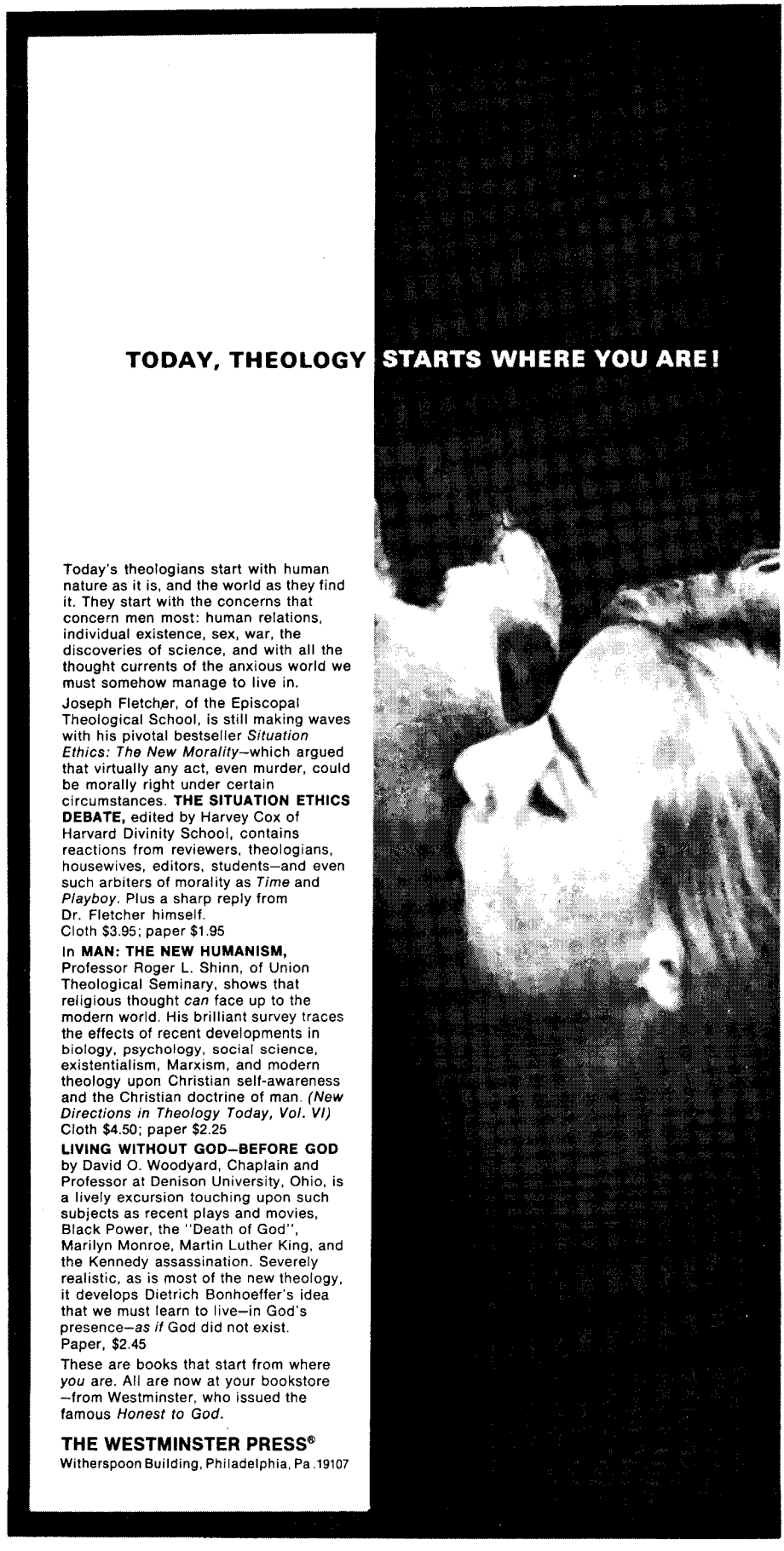
hearing, or feeling the direct consequences of their acts.) The danger, and perhaps the tragedy, lies in our refusal to let ourselves think about it often enough, because we cannot continue to function indefinitely in a permanent orientation to crisis.

We accustom ourselves to it as one of the natural conditions of our lives, like breathing and death and taxes; we *know* that the Vietnam war may well lead to a thermonuclear war with China and the Soviet Union, which in turn will lead to the end-of-etc., and our response is that we've heard it a thousand times, and what else is new? Our leaders continue to act as if the new weaponry were simply more modern, bigger and better, than what we had before, ignoring the obvious—that it is inherently genocidal, that it is in the nature of warfare, no less than in lesser areas of human conflict, to rise to the level of maximum capability, that so long as this weaponry or the possibility of using it exists we remain headed for doomsday. Not the least of the new complications is that now anyone can play with the weapons of total annihilation, especially in the field of chemical and bacteriological warfare—not just small nations, but the potential "mad scientists" of what used to be science fiction.

To wit: it is now only the long-term *absolute* prevention of war and ending of the war system, not just the indefinite "practical" accommodation to the same old cold-war games nations play, that can be called realistic. This implies, among other things, the end of the nation-state system. Dr. Frank's fresh review of these and other admittedly unoriginal observations is cool, logical, and reasonably comprehensive. His analyses of the true dimensions of the insoluble "fail-safe" problem and of the self-defeating nature of deterrence as a strategy (or, more properly, as an international way of life) are especially effective, as is his discussion of why wars cannot remain "limited" indefinitely; one facet of human aggressive behavior that cannot be disputed as an analogue to the history of warfare is that man usually doesn't know when to stop.

The idealistic tone of Dr. Frank's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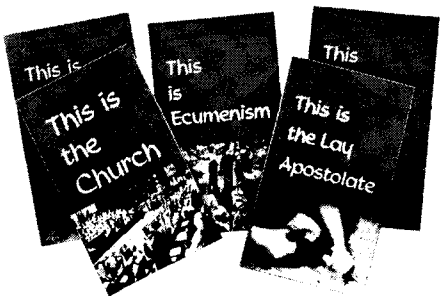

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conclusions is therefore somewhat misleading. He is by no means unduly optimistic about the practicality of his suggestions for redirecting the drives toward organized social violence, nor is he unconscious of their apparent innocence. His point is rather that, lacking any credible solution to war in *realpolitik*, it is unrealistic *not* to consider any possible moral equivalent for war, however unlikely. And the basis for what optimism he does express lies in the fact that war is *not* a biologically necessary phenomenon, but a form of social behavior and thus subject to conscious control.

Thrive Upon the Rock
NORMAN ROSTEN
Trident Press, $3.95

An Eye For An I
HARRIET ZINNES
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HARVEY SHAPIRO
Wesleyan University, $1.85

Selected Poems
KAREN GERSHON
Harcourt, Brace, $3.95

ROSEMARY F. DEEN

The organizing principle of Norman Rosten's poems is the ironic double-take: "Kisses were given, and lightning seen:/ It was later I heard the thunder." The principal material of the poems is an attractive personality, too well-mannered to be overtly sentimental. The limitation of the poems is that the form exists independently, acquiring a familiar quality, like a favorite container. The container-form is useful but lacks interest. Each poem is built in the same way to a punch-line ending. Since Mr. Rosten's book is now in its second printing, his formula is worth noticing: a controlled lightness aimed at a reader socially but not literarily sophisticated.

The art of Harriet Zinnes's *An Eye for an I*, in contrast, is sophisticated and impersonal. The book itself is a beautiful object, both in paper and print and in its art reproductions. The interaction of these arts with music (in poems on electronic music) suggests a completeness beyond the personal, the completeness of art itself which—as in Rauschenberg's sculpture or electronic music—can incorporate non-art units into art units. These poems too, wittily incorporate "debris" and offer, like marvelous Picasso trouvailles, a selection of things really used by men.

But although Harriet Zinnes the person seems hidden in her book, we must notice that she has taken the trouble to tell us that she is giving us an "eye for an I." She is evidently willing to lose "personality" to assert an identity. We sense that identity first in the poetry's wit and in its independence of the continuity that depends on statement. Of course, what any poem "says" is never equal to its paraphrasable content. But these poems elegantly extend that logic toward the elimination of lyrical statement. What remains is not the voice's message, but its presence. "Electronic Music I" asserts: "I must go to hear the lullaby/of that plumbing/aged with the Rauschenberg patina/or Metropolitan fallout/and gutter gangrene."

Keats' idea was that intelligences—"sparks of divinity"—become identities "through the medium of a world like this." Through perception we exchange "divinity" for a human soul. A sense of the value of this loss of the absolute for the authority of experience runs through most modern poetry and the best of Mrs. Zinnes' poems. You can see it in the book's sustained energy: the energy of changing into things, as in the poem "Stoned" where the voice is earth-like, enduring the "agony of that pain!/ the bearing up under it!/ Stoned and snailed./ Paced and pounded." Absorbed into a Rauschenberg assemblage, the voice is delighted: "What an antic traffic jam I am."

In setting picture or thing over statement, the poet's style asserts the truth of experience over prescriptive knowledge. In the poem "It Is Well Known," some *McGuffey Reader* statements (*"The path is hard."/"Error is everywhere."*) are set against a "light blue" canvas whose "center holds the black round

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eye." In the pictorial statement, the "center holds." In the *McGuffey Reader* statements, the center will not hold: "the page is white/ and the President is dead." Another poet in another time observed the same phenomenon: "It is not for want of admirable doctrine that men hate and torment and deceive and subjugate one another."

The trend toward publishing poetry in paperbacks takes away every literate person's excuse for not reading the poetry of his contemporaries. Harvey Shapiro's *Battle Report* is another in the handsome Wesleyan Poetry series, like W. R. Moses' *Identities* reviewed last year. Without recourse to "container-form," Mr. Shapiro's poems sustain themselves by meaningful tone, diction, and line movement: "The Collectors come for the sagging brain,/Lugged flesh, tired lungs./"Right here, men!" I shout,/In that manner I lacked/All my life."

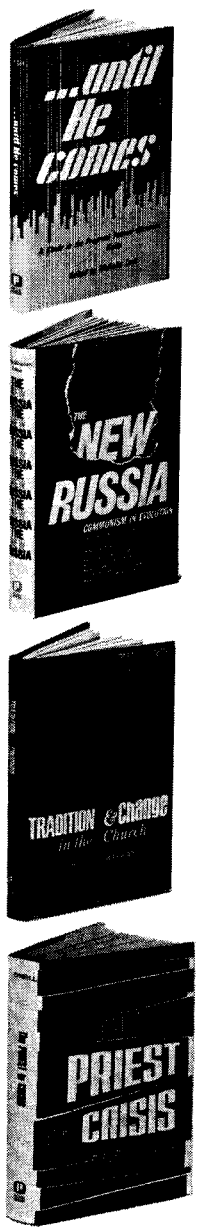
The voice movement often seems to move on and out of certain poems at the end, as if they were parts of an action already in progress. In "For Job At Forty," Job appears "fingering the spots where the boils will be," and the voice observes, "What a mark for the spoiler,/ Who is there, at the corner,/ And now you turn his way." In fact, that energy of which a poem is a hard-to-achieve segment is the theme of these poems. Society converts energy into law. The poems recognize "How everything gets tamed./ The pronominal outcry, as if uttered in ectasy,/ Is turned to syntax." The poems' attitude toward this is comic in Auden's sense; the subject of comedy is "the law which we cannot alter." In that large sense, these poems are "comic art," recognizing that "there must be/ Narrative. The people must go to the mountain." Indeed, the very worst is perfectly recognizable: at Auschwitz "the Angel of Death whistles Mozart."

Such poems acknowledge that the energy outside of "syntax" which they hanker after is destructive in its raw form, and that this

> is the child's wish:
> To see the earth a dancing flood
> And the new home floating free,
> And all irrational, outside, inside.
> The packed beasts padding through
> The comforts of the living room.
> And the old man, his hand forced
> By the impossible command,
> Compass lost and out of touch.

Still, across the page is the absolute alternative, the absence of all energy, the "National Cold Storage Company," which contains, bitterly enough, "more things than you can dream of."

The course between the inhuman force and the inhuman form is what Wordsworth calls "knowledge not purchased by the loss of power," and what Mr. Shapiro calls "human eloquence." We see that kind of life in older speech: "Jerome and Origen can tell/ How Greek redactions of the text/Stalled at the Tetragrammaton." What stalled them was the violence of The Name "in archaic script." By the way the names work in Mr. Shapiro's stanza we can see how the oldest poetry may have been a roll of powerful names ("Parthians and Medes and Elamites and the inhabitants



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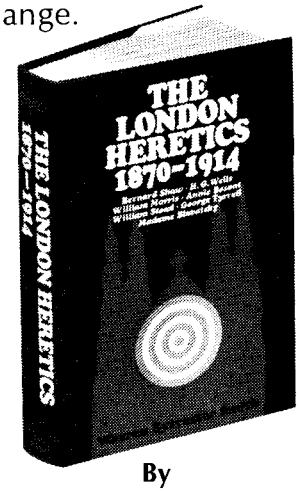

By

Warren Sylvester Smith

THE spiritual upheaval of our time may be found in those men and women of Victorian England who bore the brunt of the intellectual and moral revolution against established religion and morality, from the militant Bible-smashers to the new brand of churchmen who flew in the faces of bishops and governing bodies.

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DODD, MEAD

of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia and Pamphilia"). The title recalls the poet's days as an Air Force gunner. That activity was almost an absence of life: "For the gunner the world was unhinged," "gloved and chuted, wired into my bones," "I mixed into my own breathings/ and waited, exposed as stone." The life of that time waited to wake in the words of the poem. "Human eloquence" is the only rememberable focus both of intelligence and life.

Karen Gershon's *Selected Poems* are remarkably painful, blunt poems, whose art is to look artless. They look artless because the material is directly personal, the rhythm is a pounding, regular tetrameter, largely end-stopped, and the rhymes hurry in with an excessive emphasis. It seems at first like children's art. But it is, in fact, the "children's art" of Blake's poems of Innocence, of Wordsworth's ballads, and of much of Auden. In lines like these: "As I am now my mother was/ when she was summoned to be killed/ I cannot mourn her as her child/ I have disowned her for life's sake," you can hear Blake's "The Babe that weeps the rod beneath/ Writes Revenge in realms of death," or Wordsworth's "At all times of the day and night/ This wretched woman thither goes," or Auden's "Intellectual disgrace/ Stares from every human face."

I emphasize the literary tradition because a poet writing some version of the pastoral is always thought naive. All these poets have in common a need to scrutinize experience and make it yield. Like Wordsworth, Mrs. Gershon writes about a personal loss which is associated with and can be talked about in terms of a great public crisis. For Wordsworth it was the French Revolution; for Karen Gershon, it is the murder of the European Jews. A large event does not in itself make poems important. In fact, this material has often proved overpowering. The real importance of public material is that it steadies personal experience and stands as a token for its universality. Wordsworth, Karen Gershon, and the reader have all the same experience: the loss of childhood and its landscape or light, the loss of parents and the consequent sense both of being deserted ("they might have lived to succor me") and of having deserted them by surviving them ("I must atone because I live").

These poems, apparently so direct and personal with their excessive need to scrutinize, to relive what has been lived once, are what Karen Gershon calls "poems of return"—really a doubling back of consciousness into self-consciousness.

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> imagination with the truth
> it is as if they cannot die
> until my mind is there to watch

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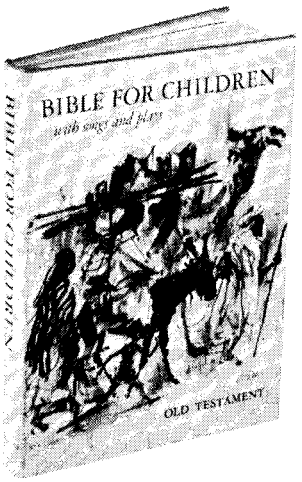
match, and in our awareness of the discrepancy between events and our response to them, self-consciousness and spiritual questioning begin. Every poem turns on this recognition. The response always begins ordinarily enough: "I was not there to comfort them," "I could not have saved them," "Every child must leave its home/ time gathers life impartially." But in the end, the truth is something only the imagination could match: "So glad was I they could not claim/ compensation from me for/ the martyrdom they had to bear/ that I did not grieve for them." The first fruit of this "matching" is an awareness—that is to say, a loss—of innocence. Others have known what we did not know: "My mother sold my bed and chair/ while I expected to return."

The recognition that nature, or the world outside the mind, does not make reality recurs throughout the poems: "the dawn was neutral," "the ground is neutral," "if life is neutral what has made/ the fearful pattern of my own." The recognition that the *mind* makes reality is crucial: "nature is neutral my own culpable thought created/ a setting for tragedy where I might have seen peace." At this point the poems open up into fuller emotions of sorrow or joy. The singular lines begin to connect and flow into one another. These lyrics are more painful than the blunter poems. It is as if the suffering were there all along, and we could ignore it, but are not allowed to ignore it always. There is a ritual in yielding to the fury and saying it out: "two thousand years of culture made fertiliser from her bones." From the same source comes joy, the "need to celebrate": "between their ordinary lives/ and their ending must have lain/ an enviable state of grace." "By the dead in whose debt I am I felt myself bidden/ to celebrate being alive on behalf of them all."

Sorrow and joy come in the center of the book whose dominant mode leads up to and away from such points of rest. As the dominant mode is probing, its true expression is not in emotion but in a finer energy of the mind—not in the heavens and hells the mind makes, but in the making itself. If we have be-



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come like our parents, we are unlike others—here called Germans. After the war we sat with them on a tram and realized, "I meant nothing to them and they mattered so much to me." The real difference is not between German and Jew, but between people on trams whose lives have never been broken by thought and those whose lives have been; it is the difference between consciousness and self-consciousness: "not who I was but what I thought/ marked me out as separate."

In the Heart of the Heart of the Country

WILLIAM H. GASS

Harper & Row, $4.95

IRVING MALIN

William H. Gass is interested in the "texture" of consciousness. He believes that plot is less important than insightful flashes because it is "well ordered" and artificial—it is divorced from the way we actually experience "the heart of the country." Thus he writes stories which have no fixed point of reference (except the narrator's consciousness). These stories are, in effect, *imagistic essays on the mind* and when they work, they disturb our conventional responses to life and literature.

It can be argued that "The Pedersen Kid"—one of the five stories in this collection—does have a plot. But the various physical actions—the journey in the blizzard; the search for the intruder; the entry into the house—are significant only as they impinge upon the "center of consciousness." It is the boy's mind at work which patterns (and is patterned by) the outside world. When he describes the snow-scene, he interprets it; and because he is disturbed by real and imaginary fears, he is a difficult, elusive being—he cannot be categorized; he responds in quirky ways. It is fitting that he "slips" out of himself—all of Mr. Gass' narrators distort reality—because this transformation of personality is, perhaps, the only stable "fact" in the universe.

Mr. Gass uses the blizzard as the symbol of violent consciousness. Objects and motives are dim; boundaries are violated. The entire situation becomes dreamlike and hallucinatory, especially when the mysterious appearance (of the Pedersen kid) and disappearance (of the intruder) reinforce ambiguities. I think that the narrator is a bit too pleased about finding himself—"I had been the brave one and now I was free" —but even here Mr. Gass may suggest that he cannot rest at home—he will be caught in the snow again.

In "Order of Insects" we meet a wife (as narrator) who does not undergo the

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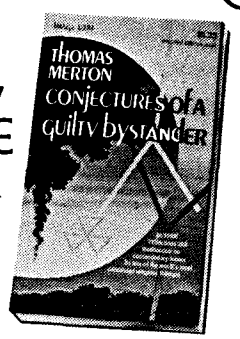

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By Donald Whittle

How does the faith reflected in a Byzantine mosaic differ from the faith reflected in the work of Raphael? And what about the way in which Roualt poured out the turbulent grace of God. "On the Waterfront" was considered a movie of deeper Christian content than "The Greatest Story Ever Told" says the author. Why and how? "The Cathedral of the twentieth century is . . . something of an anachronism," continues the writer. Why is it? The ultimate questions of man, as revealed in various works of art are discussed in this volume which is an excellent introduction to a meaningful relationship between Christianity and the arts—or a comprehensive application of the Christian faith to the arts—painting, architecture, music, fiction, poetry, drama, cinema.

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brutal journey of the boy. She stays at home; she stabilizes the family order. But she also begins to recognize another world—not of snow, but of insects—and as she broods about this new "order," she "slips" out. She spends unnecessary time examining the beauties of insect-structure—"I no longer own my own imagination"—and when we last see her, we realize that she can never be as "tidy and punctual" as before. She is "suspended"—like a spider? —and she must not tell her family (or herself) the underlying causes. In less than ten pages Mr. Gass captures her fascination with insects and her surrender to them.

Perhaps the most unorthodox story in the collection is "In the Heart of the Heart of the Country." It is, superficially, a series of vignettes about life in one Mid-Western town. It offers glimpses of "People," "Businesses," and "Politics"—a comforting, almost-cliché newsreel. But we realize that a "mad" or "unhappy" narrator is describing the scene. The vignettes emphasize distortion, dislocation, and inversion; business, people, and politics suddenly become different. Not only does the narrator compel us to question the picture-postcard reality we have always accepted—he makes us unsure of his reliability (and personality). Does he view things bleakly because of an unhappy love affair? Or can he "strike through the mask"—to use Melville's phrase—because of his now-heightened perception? Both "the heart of the country" and the heart of the narrator remain wonderfully obscure: "There's no one to hear the music but myself, and though I'm listening, I'm no longer certain. Perhaps the record's playing something else."

The publisher gives us a blurb by John Hollander which implies that this treatment of the "relation between self and things is unique in American writing." This statement is easy—the important American novelists from Poe to Flannery O'Connor have dealt with obsessive designs which distort reality—but I think that at his best, Mr. Gass makes us remember these writers. His stories question the relation between

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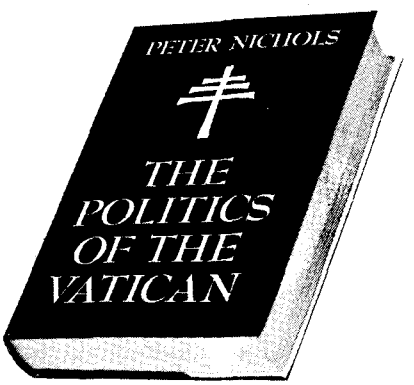

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consciousness and reality, and they make us wonder about our tense situation in an alien(?) world. They stun us.

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DENNIS CLARK

To read these two books about the spirituality of engagement against the current background of urban anguish and violence presses a tormenting question. Have we already passed the point where the average Christian can pursue rational development of his spirit through our received inheritance of religious method? The desperation and depersonalization pervading urban life mock the balanced aspirations that continue to be put forth by spiritual writers. But if the question raised by these books is profoundly disturbing, amid our riots and bureaucratic hypocrisy, the resolution and pacific courage of the authors serves as a draught of confidence to the rhetoric of pessimism.

Father Talec's book is a brief, lucid and strong exposition of the theology of engagement applied to the deep world of the person and then to the small world of the neighborhood. It sees the Christian urban mission failing because it is narrow, cramped by the irrelevancies of the past: like an antique tollgate, it levies odd tithes upon Christians seeking to enter the full life of the city. For all its brevity, the book does not oversimplify. It sees many of the specific problems, such as those "who are sick in faith and who range from neurotic mystics, through the superstitious to the bigots . . .," whose distortions mar the Christian mission. Father Talec insists that we find a way to appear with integrity before unbelievers who know only too well the crimes of our past, and he counsels autonomy for the person, engagement for the Christian, and a striving for a "community of destiny" among streets and structures.

Father Brungs' book is freshly and sensitively written. Even the frequent Scriptural quotes are drawn from the modernized versions of J. M. Powis Smith and Edgar Goodspeed. The organization of much of the book around the seven sacraments does not detract from its keen penetration of modern spiritual needs. It is a pleasure to come upon spiritual reading that is a joy and not a penance. Father Brungs marshals the best of contemporary Christian thought and the suggested readings at the end of each chapter seem like a roster of causes for hope: Chardin, Küng, Rahner, von Balthasar, Schillebeeckx, Hulsbosch. Stating that "Man has progressed almost despite the Church rather than because of her," the author still searches beyond the failings and the scandal. Taking the idea of Christ as Kurios, Lord of Creation, he describes the process of spiritual evolution to which we must subject ourselves in order to reflect Christ, the true evolution.

Brungs meditates upon the fact that we can through our technology destroy

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LEONARD C. LEWIN was a consultant with the group that produced *Report from Iron Mountain.*

ROSEMARY F. DEEN teaches in the School of General Studies, Queens College.

IRVING MALIN is the editor of *Truman Capote's In Cold Blood: A Critical Handbook* (Wadsworth).

DENNIS CLARK is the author of *Work and the Human Spirit* (Sheed & Ward).

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cities, which can often be rebuilt, but even more drastically, that we can destroy whole cultures which cannot be rebuilt. It is the culture and spiritual content of the city that are our deepest concerns. The writer presses Christians to lead the way in man's control of his environment and to show man the true meaning of his progress. He asserts the hunger for new knowledge that must guide believers. "It would be natural enough," he writes, "to throw our hands in the air at the magnitude of the job facing us. We are a minority in the world, but we have always been a minority. Worse, we have a tradition that for several centuries has taught us a more or less effective lesson for disengagement. . . ." To the temptation to cower he responds with the ardor of Scripture and the beckoning riches of spiritual attainment: an exhortation in honesty and dignity.

It is such a threatening experience to live in the vast modern city that the reassurance of books such as these is not to be foregone by the harried urbanite.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 125)

(3) Assert a non-refutable definition of his own: the absolute denial of absolute legitimations, and the affirmation of the need to create unspecified finite legitimations.

At bottom, I don't think that Berger would stake Christian identity even on Callahan's absolute (is it a kind of pragmatic meliorism?). Berger's Christian, having relativized and hence been liberated from all points of view (including, I suspect, Callahan's), must live in utter freedom in the presence of his God. EDWARD STEVENS, S.J.

The Celibacy Issue

Santa Clara, Calif.

To the Editors: In his response to Peter Declan's "Trial by Laicization" (Mar. 22), Fr. Edward Heston makes a sincere and partially successful at-

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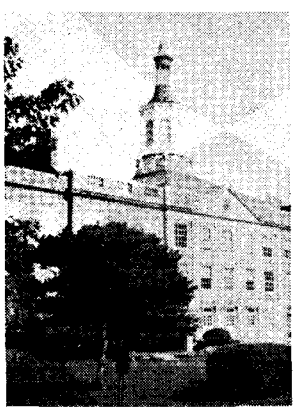
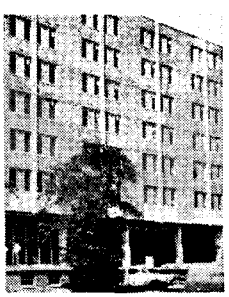
tempt to set the record straight on Vatican procedures concerning the laicization of priests. But if one reads between the lines and around the margins of Fr. Heston's article, it becomes abundantly clear that men formed with his outlook on the priesthood-celibacy equation are unable or unwilling to see the real issue today.

Fr. Heston seems so wedded to the thought pattern of present ecclesiastical legislation that he can only look on the marriage of a priest as defeat and dereliction from which church authorities must save a man. It is precisely this mentality that is today being seriously questioned by growing numbers of younger priests and lay people. They want to take the Church at its word when it proclaims the need to respect human freedom and personal integrity.

Such Catholics are asking ecclesiastical officials to reform present legislation on celibacy to allow priests who wish to withdraw from the active ministry and marry to be able to do so in a way that most respects their freedom and personal dignity. But an even more important phenomenon is occurring. Many fine priests want to remain in the active ministry and also have the option to marry. Reasons for this growing awareness of the compatibility of priesthood and marriage in the last third of the twentieth century cannot be adequately treated in this brief letter. But these reasons are impressive and they deserve the attention of ecclesiastics.

The scandal in the Church today is not that of priests who want to serve the community as married ministers. The growing scandal for many thinking Catholics is the seeming willingness of authorities in the Church to sacrifice the needs of preaching the gospel to a rigid legislation on priestly celibacy. This scandal will continue as long as those in high places refuse to rethink the mentality underlying Fr. Heston's article. EUGENE C. BIANCHI, S.J.

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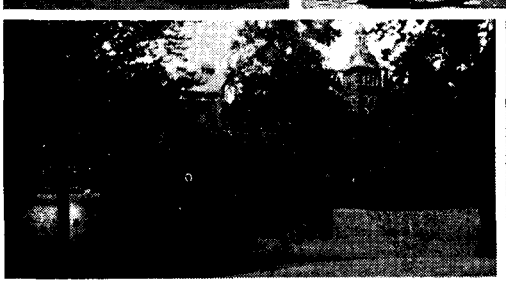

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Life Among the Irish

Dublin

To the Editors: As one who has recently returned to Ireland, may I add a belated footnote to your article on divorce and the Irish constitution? The most interesting part of the debate is the way it is bringing up the first green shoots of a challenge by Catholics to the Church's traditional understanding of Christ's saying that whom God has joined together, no man must put asunder. It is clear, I heard a priest say at one recent meeting, what Christ was rejecting: the divorce procedure available in his time under Jewish law, by which a husband could arbitrarily put his wife on the street with no serious cause whatever. What Christ was positively recommending is not so clear. Whom *has* God joined together? The Church asks this question each time the validity of a marriage is challenged. It finds the answer, not by a flash of revelation, but by drawing on the best available thinking from social science (traditionally, legal science) and medicine. Traditionally it has focused on one particular moment in a marriage, its inception, and has asked such questions as: Was there at that point a contract, meeting the usual legal conditions for a valid contract, and was it properly witnessed? Was it duly carried out? Now, however, I have heard in Ireland both lawyers and social scientists asking: if considerations of this kind are relevant, why should they be brought into account only as of the first moment of a marriage? A weld between two pieces of metal may be apparently sound, but actually flawed; in that case we say, if the two pieces later break apart, not that a true weld has been

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broken but that there never was a true weld in the first place. If a marriage contains flaws, of personality or otherwise, which come to light only years after, and a petition for divorce arises, is this a case of separating those whom God joined together or of recognizing that God's will about this couple is other than we and they had first thought? Ought we not to follow the lawyers in recognizing that a contract apparently sound in the first place may become impossible of maintenance later on? God is not mocked. Those who cover with his authority the tragic and absurd cases known to every divorce lawyer and psychiatrist must look carefully to the logic of their interpretation of his commands. They should also look carefully at the economics of the case. Separated and divorced wives are still too often left in an economically desperate state, but with modern techniques of social security and chances of women's employment there is no reason why they should be.

Arguments on these lines are still very marginal in Ireland. There is as yet nothing like a full-scale debate on marriage patterns or, more generally, on men's and women's roles. What nevertheless seems to me significant is that arguments such as those I have quoted should be heard in public at all.

MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

Youths for Bobby

Columbus, O.

To the Editors: I deeply regret your impulsive endorsement of Sen. McCarthy over Sen. Kennedy in your March 29 issue. You make the same basic mistake that many other old-school "liberals" seem to be making these days—implying that the first man in the race is, by necessity, the best qualified. You say McCarthy's appeal to youth is "beautiful"—then what of Kennedy's tremendous reception at Kansas State, Nashville and in California? I am one of those "youth" and I'm for Kennedy. One attribute of youth is a facility for forgetting and forgiving—something that many of you old-timers might well emulate. . . .

PAUL P. ENKE

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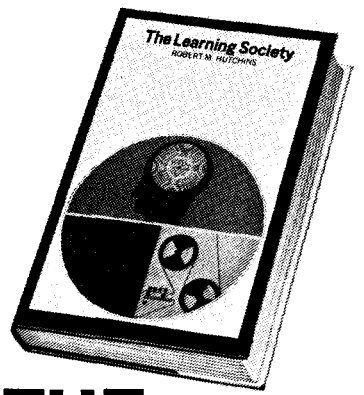

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